

VOICES OF DEMOCRACY

A Handbook for Speakers, Teachers, and Writers

Compiled by
BERNARD MOLOHON
under the direction of
CHESTER S. WILLIAMS
Assistant Administrator, Federal Forum Project

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J. L. G. FERRIS, PHM

PATRICK HENRY IN THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

"Give Me Liberty!"

DOWN the long corridors of history echoes the cry of Patrick Henry: "Give me liberty!" Poets have expressed in verse, man's eternal longing for freedom; statesmen have voiced it in great orations; painters have interpreted it on canvas; musicians have recorded it in song and ballad. It is one of the important tasks of educators—teachers in classrooms, lecturers in forums, speakers on the radio, columnists in the press—to make this dramatic phrase meaningful to people of the modern world.

This booklet brings together memorable expressions on liberty and democracy by philosophers, statesmen, and writers of all times. It also presents in brief story form memorable episodes in the never-ending struggle for freedom. The selected references suggest sources of additional material on these subjects.

If these quotations and stories find their way into classroom discussions, speeches, radio dramas, and the hearts and memories of the people, this little book, brought out with the hope that it will help educators and others to interpret and make vivid the principles we seek to preserve, will have made its contribution to democratic morale.

Morale is composed of many elements. Health—physical and mental—is one of the elements. Confidence that a reasonable degree of security and opportunity can be obtained in our society is another. Hope of future progress and increasing economic welfare is still another. Yet, in the days ahead, there may not be much security or safety. Life may be more difficult and dangerous. Dislocations in the economic system seem inevitable. Therefore, morale must grow out of personal convictions of moral values.

Men have bartered away their freedom for temporary material gains only to find that sacrifice and deprivation are demanded in the name of conquest and war. The morale of a democracy is, in part, strengthened and developed by a deep and abiding faith in the enduring moral values. Americans must feel themselves a part of the great human struggles of the centuries through which the moral principles of freedom and respect for the individual have been won and rewon.

They must recognize the voices of destruction, promising material prosperity in return for blind obedience to arbitrary authority, for what they are—the hollow echo of an ancient and recurring tyranny. They must see more clearly than ever that material prosperity and economic progress rest, as they always have, on moral foundations. Confidence in the ultimate triumph of free government is essential to morale.

Men are no less uncomfortable as slaves today than they were 4,000 years ago. They respond to voices of deliverance. The victims of autocracy must struggle to free themselves, but we have an even harder task—we must maintain the freedom we have already won. It is harder because we take it for granted—*this freedom*.

Hence, we need the poets and the statesmen, the teachers and the philosophers to sharpen and quicken our perceptions—to make us aware of the meaning of freedom. The words in this handbook, if quoted frequently and spread abroad, may serve this high purpose.

JOHN W. STUDEBAKER,
U. S. Commissioner of Education.

Voices of Democracy

VII

Voices of Democracy

The hope expressed by many voices of democracy through centuries of time was effectively summarized by the President of the United States in January 1941:

"We Go Forward"

... if the spirit of America were killed, even though the Nation's body and mind, constricted in an alien world, lived on, the America we know would have perished.

That spirit—that faith—speaks to us in our daily lives in ways often unnoticed, because they seem so obvious. It speaks to us here in the Capital of the Nation. It speaks to us through the processes of governing in the sovereignties of 48 States. It speaks to us in our counties, in our cities, in our towns, and in our villages. It speaks to us from the other nations of the hemisphere, and from those across the seas—the enslaved, as well as the free. *Sometimes we fail to hear or heed these Voices of Freedom because to us the privilege of our freedom is such an old, old story.*

If we lose that sacred fire—if we let it be smothered with doubt and fear—then we shall reject the destiny which George Washington strove so valiantly and so triumphantly to establish.

In the face of great perils never before encountered, our strong purpose is to protect and to perpetuate the integrity of democracy.

We do not retreat. We are not content to stand still. As Americans, we go forward, in the service of our country, by the will of God—*Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Third Inaugural Address, January 20, 1941.*

Four Freedoms

... In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every

nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly, adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quicklime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This Nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.—*Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Message to the Congress, January 6, 1941.*

Memorable Statements

1

Our Inalienable Rights

The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both congresses and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution.—*Abraham Lincoln* (1861).¹

The duty of the State is to secure the happiness of the citizens. This end can be attained only by allowing the just liberty whereby each may work for his own interest and well-being providing he does not injure the well-being of his fellow citizens.—*Paul Heinrich von Holbach* (1783).

All we have of freedom, all we use or know—
This our Fathers bought for us long and long ago.

Ancient right unnoticed as the breath we draw—
Leave to live by no man's leave, underneath the law.

Lance and torch and tumult, steel and grey goosewing
Wrenched it, inch and ell and all, slowly from the King.

—*Rudyard Kipling* (1899).

Every age and generation must be free to act for itself in all cases as the ages and generations which preceded it. The vanity and presumption of governing beyond the grave is the most ridiculous and insolent of all tyrannies . . . Every generation is, and must be, competent to all the purposes which its occasions require. It is the living, and not the dead, that are to be accommodated.—*Thomas Paine* (1800).

The freedom and happiness of man are the sole objects of all legitimate government.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1810).

I fear you do not fully comprehend the danger of abridging the liberties of the people. A government had better go to the very extreme of toleration than to do aught that could be construed into an interference with or jeopardize in any degree the rights of the people.—*Abraham Lincoln* (1868).

Natural Right is common to all nations because it rests upon the instinct of nature, not upon ordinance, as the union of male and female; the succession and education of children; the common possession of all things and the equal liberty of all men; the acquisition of whatever is taken in the sky, on land or sea; the restitution of everything given in trust or of money committed to charge; the repulsion of force by force. For these and similar things were never held to be unjust, but to be natural and equal.—*Henry Gratian* (1150).

There should be only one rule of justice for rich and poor, for the favorite at court and the countryman at the plow . . . When men enter into society it is by voluntary consent, and in case of intolerable oppression, civil or religious,

¹ The dates given indicate the time at which the passages were expressed. In a few instances, however, exact dates are not available, or the person quoted is reported to have written or spoken the same words at several periods of his life. The span of life of each person quoted is given under the heading, *Those Who Lifted Their Voices*, page 55.

they have a right to leave the society they belong to and enter into another.—*Samuel Adams* (1765).

All men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

Government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community!

When any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such a manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.—*George Mason* (1775).

It is the right of our people to organize to oppose any law and any part of the Constitution with which they are not in sympathy—*Alfred E. Smith* (1928).

The people have a right to petition, but not to use that right to cover calumniating insinuations.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1808).

A bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular; and what no just government should refuse or rest on inferences.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1787).

The community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish government, in such manner as shall be by that community judged most conducive to the public weal.—*Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights* (1874).

A man only moderately versed in statesmanship, and with only a small degree of sportsmanship, is bound to admit that in a free republic, in a government such as ours, it is the undoubted right of the people to change their servants, and to remove one and displace him with another at any time they choose, for a good reason, for a bad reason, for no reason at all.

It is the duty of the public servants not grumpily and sourly to accept the verdict of the majority but joyously to accept the verdict of the majority if we are to have a free people.—*Henry F. Ashurst* (1940).

And this is Liberty—that one grow after the law of his own life, hindering not another; and this is Opportunity; and the fruit thereof is Variation; and from the glad growing and the fruit-feasting comes Sympathy, which is appreciative and helpful goodfellowship.—*John W. Lloyd* (1900).

Liberty

Few nations have attained the blessings of liberty, because few have had energy, courage, and virtue to deserve them.—*Charles Joseph Bonaparte* (1920).

Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it.

—*William Cowper* (1783).

Liberty, such as deserves the name, is an honest, equitable, diffusive, and impartial principle. It is a great and enlarged virtue, and not a sordid, selfish, and illiberal vice. It is the portion of the mass of the citizens, and not the

haughty license of some potent individual or some predominant faction.—*Edmund Burke* (1793).

Take, Freedom, take thy radiant round;
When dimmed, revive: when lost, return;
Till not a shrine through earth be found
On which thy glories shall not burn!

—*Thomas Moore* (1812).

Freedom exists only where the people take care of the government.—*Woodrow Wilson* (1912).

Liberty exists in proportion to wholesome restraint.—*Daniel Webster* (1847).

In a chariot of light from the regions of day,
The Goddess of Liberty came;
Ten thousand celestials directed the way
And hither conducted the dame.

—*Thomas Paine* (1776).

I intend no modification of my oft-expressed wish that all men everywhere could be free.—*Abraham Lincoln* (1862).

We must be free or die, who spake the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.

—*William Wordsworth* (1802).

Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end, and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.—*Woodrow Wilson* (1917).

Liberty is an old fact. It has had its heroes and its martyrs in almost every age. As I look back through the vista of centuries, I can see no end of the ranks of those who have toiled and suffered in its cause, and who wear upon their breasts its stars of the legion of honor.—*Edwin Hubbell Chapin* (1868).

A day, an hour, of virtuous liberty
Is worth a whole eternity in bondage.

—*Joseph Addison* (1713).

Liberty will not descend to a people, a people must raise themselves to liberty; it is a blessing that must be earned before it can be enjoyed.—*Charles Caleb Colton* (1821).

Liberty is to the collective body what health is to every individual body. Without health no pleasure can be tasted by man; without liberty, no happiness can be enjoyed by society.—*Henry St. John Bolingbroke* (1735).

When Freedom from her mountain-height
Unfurled her standard to the air,
She tore the azure robe of night,
And set the stars of glory there.
She mingled with its gorgeous dyes
The milky baldric of the skies,
And striped its pure, celestial white
With streakings of the morning light.

Flag of the free heart's hope and home!
 By angel hands to valour given!
 Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
 And all thy hues were born in heaven.
 Forever float that standard sheet!
 Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
 With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
 And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us?

—*Joseph Rodman Drake* (1817).

Not until right is founded upon reverence will it be secure; not until duty is based upon love will it be complete; not until liberty is based on eternal principles will it be full, equal, lofty, and universal.—*Henry Giles* (1875).

When will the world shake off such yokes? Oh, when
 Will that redeeming day shine out on men
 That shall behold them rise, erect and free,
 As heav'n and nature meant mankind should be?

—*Thomas Moore* (1849).

Who may define Liberty? It is far more than Independence of a nation. It is not a catalogue of political "rights." Liberty is a thing of the spirit—to be free to worship, to think, to hold opinions, and to speak without fear—free to challenge wrong and oppression with surety of justice. Liberty conceives that the mind and spirit of men can be free only if the individual is free to choose his own calling, to develop his talents, to win and to keep a home sacred from intrusion, to rear children in ordered security. It holds he must be free to earn, to spend, to save, to accumulate property that may give protection in old age and to loved ones.—*Herbert Hoover* (1934).

Freedom has a thousand charms to show,
 That slaves, howe'er contented, never know.

—*William Cowper* (1780).

Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered, yet we have this consolation within us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly . . . It would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated.—*Thomas Paine* (1776).

All the arts of pleasure grow when suckled by freedom.—*Johann von Schiller*.

My angel—his name is Freedom—
 Choose him to be your king;
 He shall cut pathways east and west,
 And fend you with his wing.

—*Ralph Waldo Emerson* (1872).

The cause of freedom is identified with the destinies of humanity, and in whatever part of the world it gains ground by and by, it will be a common gain to all those who desire it.—*Louis Kossuth* (1850).

The political and civil liberties guaranteed the American people by the Bill of Rights are their most precious heritage. Without personal liberty, economic justice is unattainable and meaningless.—*Burton K. Wheeler* (1937).

Freedom is necessary to the scientist and inventor more even than to other men. Great Ideas cannot be properly developed in an atmosphere of fear and coercion.—*Igor Sikorsky* (1940).

. . . Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubile unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.—*Leviticus 25: 10.*

This is the word that came unto Jeremiah from the Lord . . . to proclaim liberty unto them; that every man should let his manservant, and every man his maidservant . . . go free.—*Jeremiah 34: 8-9.*

And ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbor.—*Jeremiah 34: 15.*

For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another.—*Galatians 5: 13.*

But whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed.—*James 1: 25.*

Defending Liberty

Four-score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people by the people for the people shall not perish from the earth.—*Abraham Lincoln* (1863).

Remember that prosperity can be only for the free, and that freedom is the sure possession of those alone who have courage to defend it.—*Pericles* (469 B. C.).

The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats.—*Abraham Lincoln* (1865).

Let others give aid and comfort to despots. Be it ours to stand for liberty and justice, nor fear to lock arms with those who are called hot-heads and demagogues, when the good cause requires.—*Charles A. Dana* (1848).

Each generation freedom's creed
Must be with harshness taught,
And freemen warned that all they have
And are was dearly bought;
And oft must Lexington be roused
And Concord's fight be fought.

—*Daniel Learens Cady* (1917).

What matter our lives? If we lose our freedom, to what end should we desire to live any longer?—*Mattathias* (166 B. C.).

God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it.—*Daniel Webster* (1834).

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.—*John Philpot Curran* (1808).

Yes! to this thought I hold with firm persistence;
The last result of wisdom stamps it true;
He only earns his freedom and existence
Who daily conquers them anew.

—*Johann Wolfgang von Goethe* (1825).

Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it.—*Thomas Paine* (1801).

Among the natural rights of the colonists are these: First a right to life, secondly to liberty, thirdly to property; together with the right to defend them in the best manner they can.—*Samuel Adams* (1772).

Our object is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up among the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles.—*Woodrow Wilson* (1917).

For Freedom's battle, once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.

—*Lord Byron* (1821).

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and the thanks of man and woman.—*Thomas Paine* (1777).

The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war—into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But right is more precious than peace.—*Woodrow Wilson* (1917).

"This hand to tyrants ever sworn the foe,
For freedom only deals the deadly blow;
Then sheathes in calm repose the vengeful blade,
For gentle peace in freedom's hallowed shade."

—*John Quincy Adams* (1842).

As long as one hundred of us remain alive, we will never consent to be a subject people. For it is not glory, it is not riches, neither is it honor, but it is liberty alone that we contend for, which no honest man will lose save with his life.—*Robert Bruce* (1320).

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.—*Abraham Lincoln* (1860).

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.

—*Ralph Waldo Emerson* (1867).

What does it mean, in fact, to be free? It is reasoning justly and knowing the Rights of Man; and being known, they will be defended.—*François Voltaire* (1750).

But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.—*Woodrow Wilson* (1917).

The Athenians will not sell their liberties for all the gold either above or under ground.—*Aristides*.

Their country first, their glory and their pride;
Land of their hopes, land where their fathers died;
When in the right, they'll keep their honor bright;
When in the wrong, they'll die to set it right.

—*James T. Fields* (1873).

Liberty is one of the choicest gifts that heaven hath bestowed upon man, and exceeds in value all the treasures which the earth contains within its bosom, or the sea covers. Liberty, as well as honor, man ought to preserve at the hazard of his life, for without it life is insupportable.—*Miguel de Cervantes* (1590).

Blandishments will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a "halter" intimidate. For, under God, we are determined that wheresoever, whenssoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men.—*Josiah Quincy* (1774).

"Tis sweeter to bleed for an age at thy shrine
Than to sleep but a moment in chains!

—*Thomas Moore* (1846).

Those priceless rights, (civil liberties) guaranteed under the Constitution, have been the source of our happiness from our very beginnings as a nation. We have been accustomed to take them as a matter of course. Now, however, when we see other nations challenging those liberties, it behooves us to exercise that eternal vigilance which now, as always, is the price of liberty. No matter what comes we must preserve our national birthright; liberty of conscience and of education, of the press and of free assembly, and equal justice to all under the law.

As a free people we must defend our dearly won heritage of freedom against all assaults.—*Franklin D. Roosevelt* (1939).

The individual freedoms in our Bill of Rights are the supreme benediction of American democracy: they must be uncompromisingly defended to the death.—*Arthur H. Vandenberg* (1940).

We must realize that liberty is not a gift from heaven; that liberty is something for which we must fight and sacrifice.—*Ernest W. Gibson, Jr.* (1940).

How sure the bolt that Justice wings;
How weak the arm a traitor brings;
How mighty they, who steadfast stand
For Freedom's Flag and Freedom's Land!

—*Bayard Taylor* (1865).

Giving Up Liberty

Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.—*Benjamin Franklin* (1759).

We desire liberty, and an indifferent use of all things. This we will have. Otherwise these tumults and our lives shall only be ended together . . . neither will we ever rest until we have brought things to our own liking.—*Robert Kett* (1516).

Let freedom never perish in your hands,
But piously transmit it to your children.

—*Joseph Addison* (1710).

The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion.—*Edmund Burke* (1784).

I find written in a little volume: "Sweet is the name of liberty, but the thing itself has a value beyond all inestimable treasure." So much the more it behoveth us to take care lest we, contenting ourselves with the sweetness of the name, lose and forego the thing, being of the greatest value that can come into this noble realm.—*Peter Wentworth* (1575).

If you propose to acquit me on condition that I abandon my search for truth, I will say, I thank you, O! Athenians, but I will obey God, who as I believe set me this task, rather than you, and so long as I have breath and strength I will never cease from my occupation with philosophy. I will continue the practice of accosting whomever I meet and saying to him are you not ashamed of setting your heart on wealth and honors while you have no cure for wisdom and truth and making your soul better? I know not what death is, it may be a good thing, and I am not afraid of it. But I do know that it is a bad thing to desert one's

post and I prefer what may be good to what I know to be bad.—*Socrates* (399 B. C.).

Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!—*Patrick Henry* (1775).

'Tis not in blood that Liberty inscribes her civil laws.
She writes them on the people's heart in language clear and plain;
True thoughts have moved the world before, and so they shall again.

We yield to none in earnest love of freedom's cause sublime;
We join the cry, "Fraternity!", we keep the march of Time.

—*Charles Mackay* (1848).

Many people all over the world are losing—almost overnight—rights and ideals that have taken perhaps hundreds of years to win. We in America can't protect democracy by remembering it just on a few national holidays and taking it for granted the other three hundred and sixty days a year.—*Hans Kindler* (1940).

It would hardly seem worth while to risk one's life for a country from which the fine plumage of its liberties had already been plucked.—*Harold L. Ickes* (1940).

Minorities

If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such a right were a vital one.—*Abraham Lincoln* (1861).

It is a right which all freemen claim, and are entitled to, to complain when they are hurt; they have a right publicly to remonstrate against abuses of power or open violence of men in authority, and to assert with courage the sense they have of the blessings of liberty, the value they put upon it, and their resolution at all hazards to preserve it as one of the greatest blessings Heaven can bestow.—*Andrew Hamilton* (1735).

Bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate which would be oppression . . . (I stand for) equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1801).

By liberty I mean the assurance that every man shall be protected in doing what he believes his duty against the influence of authority and majority, custom and opinion.—*John Emerich Acton* (1897).

The problem of just how far freedom of speech and press can be maintained in war without danger to the Nation is an extremely complex one, depending upon a very exact balancing of the value as against the danger of the opinions of the protesting minority.—*James Truslow Adams* (1917).

The intolerance and discrimination practiced against groups of people in various parts of the world deny the equality of opportunity and the brotherhood which are such fundamental factors in democratic government.—*Charles H. Wesley* (1938).

The Bill of Rights provided that no majority, no matter how great, could deprive a minority, no matter how small, of certain fundamental individual rights. Surely this is an essential of Americanism, one whose violation in Russia and Germany has destroyed the least semblance of popular government.—*Robert A. Taft* (1939).

It is in the nature of a truism that America can actually have no more democracy than it accords and guarantees to the humblest and weakest of its citizens.—*James Weldon Johnson* (1933).

Power

A King, by annulling or disallowing acts of so salutary a measure, from being the father of his people degenerates into a tyrant, and forfeits all right to his subjects' obedience.—*Patrick Henry* (1763).

They see that they cannot prevail against the open truth which, the more it is persecuted, the more it increaseth.—*Hugh Latimer* (1530).

Power may justly be compared to a great river, which, if kept within due bounds is both beautiful and useful; but when it overflows its banks, it is then too impetuous to be stemmed; it bears down all before it, and brings destruction and desolation wherever it comes. If then this is the nature of power, let us at least do our duty, and like wise men (who value freedom) use our utmost care to support liberty, the only bulwark against lawless power, which in all ages has sacrificed to its wild lust and boundless ambition, the blood of the best men that ever lived . . . Men who injure and oppress the people under their administration provoke them to cry out and complain; and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and persecutions.—*Andrew Hamilton* (1735).

Power, like a desolation pestilence,
Pollutes whate'er it touches; and obediency,
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,
Makes slaves of men, and of the human frame
A mechanized automaton.

—*Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1813).

National injustice is the surest road to national downfall.—*William Ewart Gladstone* (1878).

The effect of coercion is to make one half the people fools and the other half hypocrites, and to support robbery and error all over the earth. It is error alone which needs the support of government; truth can stand by itself.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1801).

It is doubtful whether any tyranny can be worse than that exercised in the name of the sovereignty of the people.—*George L. Scherzer* (1923).

There is only one cure for evils which newly-acquired freedom produces, and that cure is freedom. When a prisoner first leaves his cell, he cannot bear the light of day, he is unable to discriminate colors, or recognize faces. The remedy is, to accustom him to the rays of the sun.

The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. In a few years men learn to reason. The extreme violence of opinions subsides. Hostile theories correct each other. The scattered elements of truth cease to contend, and begin to coalesce. And, at length, a system of justice and order is educed out of the chaos.

Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever.—*Thomas B. Macaulay* (1850).

Public officers should owe their whole service to the government and to the people.—*Rutherford B. Hayes* (1878).

A state which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes, will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished; and that the perfection of machinery to which it has sacrificed everything will in the end avail nothing, for want of the vital power which, in order that the machine might work more smoothly, it has preferred to banish.—*John Stuart Mill* (1870).

The idea of governing by force another man, who I believe to be my equal in the sight of God, is repugnant to me. I do not want to do it. I do not want any one to govern me by any kind of force. I am a reasoning being, and I only need to be shown what is best for me, when I will take that course or do that thing simply because it is best, and so will you. I do not believe that a soul was ever forced toward anything except toward ruin.

Liberty for the few is not liberty. Liberty for me and slavery for you means slavery for both.—*Samuel M. Jones* (1890).

A bloody page of history attests the fact that fanaticism armed with power is the sorest evil that can befall a nation.—*Historic saying*.

Public officers are the servants and agents of the people, to execute the laws which the people have made.—*Grover Cleveland* (1882).

Suffrage

The elective franchise, if guarded as the ark of our safety, will peaceably dissipate all combinations to subvert a Constitution, dictated by the wisdom, and resting on the will of the people.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1801).

What the votes of the people have ordained in the last instance is the law.—*The Twelve Tables of Roman Law* (452 B. C.).

No one has power except from the people. This is the condition of a free people, and especially of this chief people, the lord and conqueror of all

nations, to be able to give or to take away by their votes whatever they see fit.—*Cicero*.

It has been thought that corruption is restrained by confining the right of suffrage to a few of the wealthier of the people; but it would be more effectually restrained by an extension of that right to such numbers as would bid defiance to the means of corruption.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1782).

Let there be peace so long as every man, rich or poor, black or white, North or South, is allowed a free vote, an honest count, and equal rights before the law.—*Ulysses S. Grant* (1875).

The right of suffrage is certainly one of the fundamental articles of Republican government, and ought not be left to be regulated by the Legislature. A gradual abridgment of the right has been the mode in which aristocracies have been built on the ruin of popular forms. Whether the Constitutional qualification ought to be a freehold, would with him depend much on the popular reception such a change would meet within the States where the right was not exercised by every description of people. Viewing the subject on its merits alone, the freeholders of the country would be the safest depositaries of Republican liberty.—*James Madison* (1787).

Should things go wrong at any time, the people will set them to rights by the peaceable exercise of their elective rights.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1803).

To violate the freedom and sanctity of the suffrage is more than an evil; it is a crime, which, if persisted in, will destroy the government itself. It should be said with the utmost emphasis that this question of the suffrage will never give repose or safety to the States of the Nation until each, within its own jurisdiction, makes and keeps the ballot free and pure by the strong sanctions of the law. We have no standard by which to measure the disaster that may be brought upon us by ignorance and vice in the citizens, when joined to corruption and fraud in the suffrage.—*James A. Garfield* (1881).

The foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is the right of the people to participate in their legislative council.—*A Resolution of Congress of the American Colonies* (1774).

I believe we may lessen the danger of buying and selling votes, by making the number of voters too great for any means of purchase; I may further say that I have not observed men's honesty to increase with their riches.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1800).

Freedom To Know

Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to. Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. Enable them to see that it is to their interest to preserve peace and order, and they will preserve them. They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1787).

Criminality can only be predicated where there is an obstinate, unreasonable refusal to consider any kind of evidence but what exclusively supports one side of a question.

It follows that errors of the understanding must be treated by appeals to the understanding. That argument should be opposed by argument, and fact by fact. That fine and imprisonment are bad forms of syllogism, well calculated to irritate, but powerless for refutation. They may suppress truth, they can never elicit it.—*Thomas Cooper* (1800).

The good of mankind is a dream if it is not to be secured by preserving for all men the possible maximum of liberty of action and of freedom of thought.—*John M. Robertson* (1905).

Of what use is freedom of thought, if it will not produce freedom of action, which is the sole end, how remote soever in appearance, of all objections against Christianity? And therefore the free thinkers consider it an edifice where all the parts have such a mutual dependence on each other, that, if you pull out one single nail, the whole fabric must fall to the ground.—*Jonathan Swift* (1740).

Science, knowledge and investigation should be free. You must not make hypocrites of our authors and teachers. You must not strait-jacket the human mind.—*Louis I. Newman* (1925).

The people are the only censors of their governors; and even their errors will tend to keep them to the true principles of their institutions. To punish these errors too severely would be to suppress the only safeguard of the public liberty. The way to prevent these irregular interpositions of the people is to give them full information of their affairs through the channel of the public papers, and to contrive that those papers should penetrate the whole mass of the people. The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers, and be capable of reading them.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1787).

Next to life and liberty, we consider education the greatest blessing bestowed upon mankind. The public funds should be appropriated (to reasonable extent) to the purpose of education upon a regular system that shall insure the opportunity to every individual of obtaining a competent education before he shall have arrived at the age of maturity.—*Resolutions adopted at Meeting of Mechanics and Workingmen, New York City* (1829).

Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular education, without which neither freedom nor justice can be permanently maintained.—*James A. Garfield* (1880).

Universities should be places in which thought is free from all fetters, and in which all sources of knowledge, and all aids of learning should be accessible to all comers, without distinction of creed or country, riches or poverty.—*Thomas H. Huxley* (1874).

A motion for opening the doors of the Senate Chamber has again been lost by a considerable majority—in defiance of instruction, in security to free men. What means this conduct? Which expression does it carry strongest with it, contempt for you or tyranny? Are you freemen who ought to know the individual conduct of your legislators, or are you an inferior order of beings

incapable of comprehending the sublimity of senatorial functions, and unworthy to be instructed with their opinions? How are you to know the just from the unjust steward when they are covered with the mantle of concealment? Can there be any question of legislative import which freemen should not be acquainted with? What are you to expect when stewards of your household refuse to give account of their stewardship? Secrecy is necessary to design and a masque to treachery; honesty shrinks not from the public eye.

The Peers of America disdain to be seen by vulgar eyes, the music of their voices is harmony only for themselves and must not vibrate in the ravished ear of an ungrateful and unworthy multitude. Is there any congeniality excepting in the administration, between the government of Great Britain and the government of the United States. The Senate supposes there is, and usurps the secret privileges of the House of Lords. Remember my fellow citizens, that you are still freemen; let it be impressed upon your minds that you depend not upon your representatives but that they depend upon you, and let this truth be ever present to you, that secrecy in your representatives is a worm which will prey and fatten upon the vitals of your liberty.—*Philip Freneau (1792)*.

Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppression of both mind and body will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day.—*Thomas Jefferson (1816)*.

To enjoy our rights and liberties, we must understand them; their security and protection ought to be the first object of a free people; and it is a well established fact that no nation has ever continued long in the enjoyment of civil and political freedom, which has ever continued long in the enjoyment of believing that the advancement of literature always has been, and ever will be the means of developing more fully the rights of men; that the mind of every citizen in a republic is the common property of society, and constitutes the basis of its strength and happiness; it is therefore considered the peculiar duty of a free government, like ours, to encourage and extend the improvement and cultivation of the intellectual energies of the whole.—*First School Law enacted in Illinois (1825)*.

Will anybody deny now that the government at Washington, as regards its own people, is the strongest government in the world at this hour? And for this simple reason, that it is based on the will, and the good will, of an instructed people.—*John Bright (1863)*.

Preach a crusade against ignorance. Establish and improve the law for educating the common people. The tax which is paid for this purpose is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests, and nobles, who will rise up among us, if we leave the people in ignorance.—*Thomas Jefferson (1786)*.

One of the most essential needs of a democratic country, among all of its equalities, is equality of educational opportunity—*William Pickens (1939)*.

Criticism

The peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they

are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error. Wrong opinions and practices gradually yield to fact and argument: but facts and arguments, to produce any effect on the mind, must be brought before it. Very few facts are able to tell their own story without comments to bring out their meaning. The whole strength and value, then, of human judgment, depending on the one property that it can be set right when it is wrong, reliance can be placed on it only when the means of setting it right are kept constantly at hand.—*John Stuart Mill* (1859).

If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1801).

If this blessed old republic cannot rest upon the free and voluntary support and affection of the American people in time of war as well as in time of peace, if we cannot, as a people, be free to discuss the political problems which involve limb and life, even in time of war, our government rests upon a very brittle foundation.—*William E. Borah* (1917).

It is a mistake to suppose that the Supreme Court is either honored or helped by being spoken of as beyond criticism. On the contrary, the life and character of the Justices should be the object of constant watchfulness by all, and its judgments subject to the freest criticism. The time is past in the history of the world when any living man or body of men can be set on a pedestal and decorated with a halo. True, many criticisms may be, like their authors, devoid of good taste, but better all sorts of criticisms than no criticism at all. The moving waters are full of life and health: only in the still waters is stagnation and death.—*David Josiah Brewer* (1888).

There is tonic in the things that men do not love to hear; and there is damnation in the things that wicked men love to hear. Free speech is to a great people what winds are to oceans and malarial regions, which waft away the elements of disease, and bring new elements of health; and where free speech is stopped miasma is bred, and death comes fast.—*Henry Ward Beecher*.

This formidable censor of the public functionaries (free criticism) by arraigning them at the tribunal of public opinion, produces reform peaceably, which must otherwise be done by revolution.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1823).

When you assemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. It therefore astonished me to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does, and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our counsels are confounded like those of the builders of Babel.—*Benjamin Franklin* (1787).

If seditious words proceed from levity, they are to be despised: If from folly, to be pitied: If from malice, to be forgiven.—*Theodosius* (391 A. D.).

Freedom of Expression

When men can freely communicate their thoughts and their sufferings, real or imaginary, their passions spend themselves in air, like gunpowder scattered upon the surface; but pent up by terrors, they work unseen, burst forth in a moment, and destroy everything in their course. Let reason be opposed to reason, and argument to argument, and every good government will be safe.—*Thomas Erskine* (1810).

All the great movements of thought in ancient and modern times have been nearly connected in time with government by discussion. Athens, Rome, the Italian republics of the Middle Ages, the communes and states-general of feudal Europe, have all had a special and peculiar quickening influence, which they owed to their freedom, and which states without their freedom had never communicated. And it has been at the time of great epochs of thought—at the Peloponnesian War, at the fall of the Roman Republic, at the Reformation, at the French Revolution—that such liberty of speaking and thinking have produced their full effect.—*Walter Bagehot* (1873).

The sun could as easily be spared from the universe as free speech from the liberal institutions of society.—*Socrates* (399 B. C.).

Of all the miserable, unprofitable, inglorious wars, the worst is the war against words. Let men say just what they like. We have nothing to do with a man's words or a man's thoughts, except to put against them better words and better thoughts, and so to win in the great moral and intellectual duel that is always going on, and on which all progress depends.—*Auberon Herbert* (1893).

Liberty of speech inviteth and provoketh liberty to be used again, and so bringeth much to a man's knowledge.—*Francis Bacon* (1605).

Freedom of opinion, of speech, and of the press is our most valuable privilege, the very soul of republican institutions, the safeguard of all other rights. Nothing awakens and improves men so much as free communications of thoughts and feelings.

If men abandon the right of free discussion; if, awed by threats, they suppress their convictions; if rulers succeed in silencing every voice but that which approves them; if nothing reaches the people but what would lend support to men in power—farewell to liberty. The form of a free government may remain, but the life, the soul, the substance is fled.—*William E. Channing*.

Liberty is the nurse of all great wits. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.—*John Milton* (1605).

Without free speech no search for truth is possible; without free speech no discovery of truth is useful; without free speech progress is checked and the nations no longer march forward toward the nobler life which the future holds for man. Better a thousandfold abuse of free speech than denial of free speech. The abuse dies in a day, but the denial slays the life of the people and entombs the hope of the race.—*Charles Bradlaugh* (1879).

The best legacy I can leave my children is free speech, and the example of using it.—*Algernon Sidney* (1688).

I do not believe in a word that you say, but I will defend with my life, if need be, your right to say it.—*Francois Voltaire* (1759).

I say discuss all and expose all—I am for every topic openly;

I say there can be no safety for these States without innovators—without free tongues, and ears willing to hear the tongues;

And I announce as a glory of these States, that they respectfully listen to propositions, reforms, fresh views and doctrines, from successions of men and women.

• Each age with its own growth!—*Walt Whitman* (1882).

To limit the press is to insult the nation; to prohibit the reading of certain books is to declare the inhabitants to be either fools or slaves.

Should we to destroy error compel it to silence? No. How then? Let it talk on. Error, obscure of itself, is rejected by every sound understanding. If time have not given it credit, and it be not favored by government, it cannot bear the eye of examination. Reason will ultimately direct wherever it be freely exercised.—*Claude A. Helvetius* (1765).

• When public discontents are allowed to vent themselves in reasoning and discourse, they subside into a calm; but their confinement in the bosom is apt to give them a fierce and deadly tincture.—*Robert Hall* (1793).

No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and ungagged. Let us believe that the whole of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole of truth you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing. Entire unshackled freedom for every man's life, no matter what his doctrine—the safety of free discussion no matter how wide its range. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves. If there is anything in the universe that can't stand discussion, let it crack.—*Wendell Phillips* (1855).

You tell me that law is above freedom of utterance, and I reply that you can have no wise laws nor free enforcement of wise laws unless there is free expression of the wisdom of the people—and, alas, their folly with it. But, if there is freedom, folly will die of its own poison, and the wisdom will survive. That is the history of the race. It is the proof of man's kinship with God.

You say that freedom of utterance is not for the time of stress, and I reply with the sad truth that only in time of stress is freedom of utterance in danger. No one questions it in calm days, because it is not needed. And the reverse is true also: only when free utterance is suppressed is it needed, and when it is needed it is most vital to justice. Peace is good. But if you are interested in peace through force and without free discussion—that is to say, free utterance decently and in order—your interest in justice is slight. And peace without justice is tyranny, no matter how you may sugar-coat it with expediency. This State today is in more danger from suppression than from violence, because in the end suppression leads to violence; indeed, is the child of suppression. Whoever pleads for justice helps to keep the peace, and whoever tramples upon the plea for justice, temperately made in the name of peace, only outrages peace and kills something fine in the heart of man which God put there when we got our manhood. When that is killed, brute meets brute on each side of the line.

So, dear friend, put fear out of your heart. This Nation will survive, this

State will prosper, the orderly business of life will go forward if only men can speak in whatever way given them to utter what their hearts hold—by voice, by posted card, by letter or by press. Reason never has failed men. Only force and oppression have made the wrecks in the world.—*William Allen White* (1922).

The only security of all is in a free press. The force of public opinion cannot be resisted, when permitted freely to be expressed. The agitation it produces must be submitted to. It is necessary to keep the waters pure.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1823).

The greatest truths are often the most unpopular and exasperating; and were they to be denied discussion till the many should be ready to accept them, they would never establish themselves in the general mind. The progress of society depends on nothing more than on the promulgation of principles, which are in advance of public sentiment and practice, and which are consequently at war with the habits, prejudices, and immediate interests of large classes of the community.

The defenders of freedom are not those who claim and exercise rights which no one assails, or who win shouts of applause by well turned compliments to liberty in the days of her triumph. They are those who stand up for rights which mobs, conspiracies, or single tyrants put in jeopardy; who contend for liberty in that particular form, which is threatened at the moment by the many or the few.—*William E. Channing*.

Government is the creature of the people, and that which they have created they surely have a right to examine. The great Author of nature, having placed the right of dominion in no particular hands, hath left every point relating to it to be settled by the consent and approbation of mankind. In spite of the attempts of sophistry to conceal the origin of political right, it must inevitably rest at length on the acquiescence of the people.—*Robert Hall* (1825).

The struggle for freedom of speech has marched hand in hand in the advance of civilization with the struggle for other great human liberties. History teaches that human liberty cannot be secured unless there is freedom to express grievances.—*Floyd E. Thompson* (1923).

The liberty of speaking and writing guards our other liberties.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1808).

Liberty of speech is justified on three grounds: First, if the opinion be true, the world reaps a benefit to be derived from the truth; secondly, if the opinion be false, truth is the more strengthened by contest with it, and lastly, if it be partly true and partly false, our opinions, if they do not entirely lose their weakness, at any rate gain the corrections which have greatly improved them.—*John P. Poole* (1862).

The Declaration of Independence declares liberty to be a right given to us by God. There can be no liberty without freedom of speech and the right of assembly to petition the government.—*Alfred E. Smith* (1940).

It is more dangerous to shut people's mouths than to stop the waters of a river. To stop the progress of a river means to force it to expand and thus do more harm than if it had been allowed to take its natural course. Such is the case with people. If you want to prevent the damage threatening from the inundation of a river, you have to lead it into a proper bed which will hold all of its waters;

If you want to make an impression on the people, let them have perfect liberty of speech.—*A Chinese philosopher* (2000 B. C.).

Once again, people realize that without personal liberty and the right of self-expression, life itself is hardly worth the living.—*James A. Farley* (1940).

We should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe. . . . Americans have a genuine passion for liberty and a genuine passion for justice.—*Wendell L. Willkie* (1940).

Every national emergency puts a strain upon the democratic process. At the heart of that process is the principle of free speech and free political action.—*Paul V. McNutt* (1939).

All our Presidents since the foundation of the republic have repeated their faith in the right thinking of the people. That is what our theory of government is based on. If at this moment people need a deeper consciousness of their heritage of freedom and their own responsibilities, why not let them get it through the old tried and true American processes of education and discussion among themselves? To my mind, they must grow into it rather than be pushed in—lest they might balk.—*Anton Lang* (1940).

Political liberty implies liberty to express one's political opinion orally and in writing, and a tolerant respect for any and every individual opinion.—*Albert Einstein* (1933).

Freedom of Conscience

A church is "a voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God in such a manner as they judge acceptable to him and effectual to the salvation of their souls." It is voluntary, because no man is by nature bound to any church. The hope of salvation is the cause of his entering into it. If he finds anything wrong in it, he should be as free to go out as he was to come in.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1776).

The right of every citizen to worship as he pleases and to aspire to hold any office within the gift of the people must be preserved and maintained inviolate.—*Alvin Tufts Fuller* (1928).

I could never discriminate against a man because he embraced the religion that came to him with his mother's milk.—*Theodore Roosevelt* (1893).

In this country I have no fear that liberty will be destroyed, that tyranny can ever take the place of democracy, that intolerance will again assume power. The pioneer spirit of liberty still lives here, the traditional policy of civil and religious liberty still animates our people.

We are a nation born of a great ideal and as long as the nation survives, that ideal must and will be cherished and preserved. Other nations may reject that ideal and temporarily turn back to the darkness of the Middle Ages. All the more need that we hold the torch of liberty aloft so that others may see its light.

Dark though these days are in some countries of the old and new worlds, yet everywhere there are men who still find light in religion; and tyranny is

forced to recognize that men of sincere religion are its most dangerous foes.—*Herbert H. Lehman* (1935).

The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil liberty. As for spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy anything in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God, and to save his soul, according to the best light which God hath planted in him to that purpose, by the reading of His revealed will, and the guidance of His Holy Spirit?—*John Milton* (1670).

Long ago George Mason in the Virginia Declaration of Rights voiced what has become one of the deepest convictions of the American people; "Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience."

In the conflict of policies and of political systems which the world today witnesses, the United States has held forth for its own guidance and for the guidance of other nations, if they will accept it, this great torch of liberty of human thought, liberty of human conscience. We will never lower it. We will never permit, if we can help it, the light to grow dim. Rather through every means legitimately within our power and our office we will seek to increase that light that its rays may extend the further; that its glory may be seen even from afar.—*Franklin D. Roosevelt* (1935).

The forcing of a man to support this or that teacher even of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness; and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporary rewards which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1779).

When a religion is good, I conceive that it will support itself; and when it does not support itself, and God does not take care to support it, so that its professors are obliged to call for help of the civil power, 'tis a sign, I apprehend, of its being a bad one.—*Benjamin Franklin* (1783).

I would not persecute even the Atheist. I think he has a right to toleration and, for my own part, I pity him, for he wants the consolation which I enjoy. Religion should teach us the most refined humanity, and all her ways should be peace. The bigot is seldom the virtuous, the meek, the amiable, or the learned character.—*John Wilkes* (1796).

All religions must be tolerated. In this country every man must get to heaven in his own way.—*Frederick the Great* (1740).

Of all the animosities which have existed among mankind, those which are caused by a difference of sentiments in religion appear to be deprecated.—*George Washington* (1789).

Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience.—*James Madison* (1776).

Do nothing to others which you would not have them do to you. Now I cannot see how, on his principle, one man is authorized to say to another, "Believe what I believe, and what you cannot, or you shall be put to death."—*Francois Voltaire* (1765).

Bigotry has no head and cannot think, no heart and cannot feel. When she moves it is in wrath; when she pauses it is amid ruin. Her prayers are curses, her God is a demon, her communion is death, her vengeance is eternity, her decalogue written in the blood of her victims, and if she stops for a moment in her infernal flight it is upon a kindred rock to whet her vulture fang for a more sanguinary desolation.—*Daniel O'Connell*.

The proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust or emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injudiciously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1779).

Who can be at rest, who can enjoy anything in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God and to save his own soul according to the best light which God hath planted in him to that purpose?—*John Milton* (1649).

Justice

Examine the history of England. See how few of the cases of the suspension of the *habeas corpus* law have been worthy of that suspension. They have been either real treason, wherein the parties might as well have been charged at once, or sham plots, where it was shameful they should ever have been suspected.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1788).

I am for the prisoners at the bar; and shall apologize for it only in the words of the Marquis Beccaria: "If I can but be the instrument of preserving one life, his blessing and tears of transport shall be a sufficient consolation to me for the contempt of mankind."

Facts are stubborn things, and whatever may be our wishes, our inclinations, or the dictates of our passions, they cannot alter the state of facts and evidence. Nor is the law less stable than the fact.

The law, in all vicissitudes of government, fluctuations of the passions, or flights of enthusiasm, will preserve a steady undeviating course. It will not bend to the uncertain wishes, imaginations, and wanton tempers of men. To use the words of a great and worthy man, a patriot and a hero, an enlightened friend of mankind, and a martyr to liberty, I mean Algernon Sidney, who, from his earliest infancy, sought a tranquil retirement under the shadow of the tree of liberty with his tongue, his pen, and his sword:—

"The law no passion can disturb. 'Tis void of desire and fear, lust and anger. 'Tis *mens sine affectu*, written reason, retaining some measure of the divine perfection. It does not enjoin that which pleases a weak, frail man, but without any regard to persons, commends that which is good, and punishes evil in all, whether rich or poor, high or low. 'Tis deaf, inexorable, inflexible. On the one hand, it is inexorable to the cries and lamentations of the prisoner; on the other, it is deaf, deaf as an adder, to the clamors of the populace."—*John Adams* (1770).

The people are not qualified to judge questions of law; but they are very capable of judging questions of fact. In the form of juries, therefore, they determine all matters of fact, leaving to the permanent Judges to decide the law resulting from those facts. It is left to the juries, if they think permanent judges are under any bias whatever in any cause, to take on themselves to judge the law as well as the fact. They never exercise this power but when they suspect partiality in the judges; and by the exercise of this power they have been the firmest bulwarks of English liberty.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1789).

No man should scruple or hesitate a moment to use arms in defense of so valuable a blessing as this liberty of trial by jury which we have received from our ancestors.—*George Washington* (1774).

The judgment of jurors is the guaranty of individual liberty in England, and in every other country in the world where men aspire to freedom.—*Emanuel Joseph Sieyès*.

An officer who is entrusted by the law with the sacred duty of naming judges of life and death for his fellow citizens, and who selects them exclusively from among his political and party friends, ought never to have in his power a second abuse of that tremendous magnitude.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1801).

The rack and torture chamber may not be substituted for the witness stand. The State may not permit an accused to be hurried to conviction under mob domination—where the whole proceeding is but a mask without supplying corrective process. The State may not deny to the accused the aid of counsel. Nor may a State, through the action of its officers, contrive a conviction through the pretense of a trial which in truth is "but used as a means of depriving a defendant of liberty through a deliberate deception of court and jury by the presentation of testimony known to be perjured." And the trial equally is a mere pretense where the state authorities have contrived a conviction resting solely upon confessions obtained by violence.—*Charles E. Hughes* (1936).

Tyrannical governments have immemorially utilized dictatorial criminal procedure and punishment to make scapegoats of the weak or of helpless political, religious or racial minorities and those who differed, who would not conform and who resisted tyranny. Today, as in ages past, we are not without tragic proof that the exalted powers of some governments to punish manufactured crime dictatorially is the handmaid of tyranny.—*Hugo L. Black* (1940).

I consider trial by jury as the only anchor ever yet imagined by man, by which a government can be held to the principles of its constitution.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1789).

He's true to God who's true to man; wherever wrong is done,
To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding sun,
That wrong is also done to us, and they are slaves most base,
Whose love of right is for themselves and not for all the race.
—*James Russell Lowell* (1885).

With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives to us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just

and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.—*Abraham Lincoln* (1865).

Human rights and constitutional privileges must not be forgotten in the race for wealth and commercial supremacy. The Government of the people must be by the people and not by a few of the people. It must rest upon the free consent of the governed and all of the governed. Power, it must be remembered, which is secured by oppressions or usurpation or by any form of injustice is soon dethroned.—*William McKinley* (1900).

Man is a rational animal, endowed by nature with rights, and with an innate sense of justice.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1823).

Where justice reigns, 'tis freedom to obey.—*James Montgomery* (1850).

Equality

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1776).

The divine right of kings may have been a plea for feeble tyrants, but the divine right of government is the keystone of human progress, and without it governments sink into police, and a nation is degraded into a mob.—*Benjamin Disraeli* (1870).

The government of the Union, then, is emphatically and truly a government of the people. In form and in substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit.—*John Marshall* (1819).

Where slavery is there liberty cannot be, and where liberty is there slavery cannot be.—*Charles Sumner* (1861).

By a divine paradox, wherever there is one slave there are two. So in the wonderful reciprocities of being, we can never reach the higher levels until all our fellows ascend with us. There is no true liberty for the individual except as he finds it in the liberty of all. There is no true security for the individual except as he finds it in the security of all.—*Edwin Markham* (1902).

He whom you call your slave is sprung from the same source, enjoys the same skies, breathes, lives and dies no otherwise than you. A slave he is; but he is, perhaps, a freeman in mind, and show me who is not a slave. One serves his lust; another his avarice; another his ambition; all of us are slaves to fear.—*Seneca* (64 A. D.).

The Great Spirit did not make men that they might destroy one another, but doing to each other all the good in their power, and thus filling the land with happiness instead of misery and murder.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1809).

The black man who cannot let love and sympathy go out to the white man is but half free. The white man who retarded his own development by opposing a black man is but half free.—*Booker T. Washington* (1897).

The equal right of all men is as clear as their equal right to breathe the air—it is a right proclaimed by the fact of their existence. For we cannot suppose that some men have a right to be in this world, and others no right.—*Henry George* (1889).

The North! the South! the West! the East!
 No one the most and none the least,
 But each with its own heart and mind,
 Each of its own distinctive kind,
 Yet each a part and one the whole,
 But all together form one soul;
 That soul Our Country at its best,
 No North, no South, no East, no West,
 No yours, no mine, but always Ours,
 Merged in one Power our lesser powers,
 For no one's favor, great or small,
 But all for each and each for all.

—*Edmund Vance Cooke* (1915).

Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the emigration of whites who really enrich and strengthen a country. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effect, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities.—*George Mason* (1787).

The progress of the elements of our nature towards a balance is the epitome of all history, and Liberty is the exercise of that balance.—*Margaret L. Petrie* (1874).

We grant no dukedoms to the few,
 We hold like rights and shall;
 Equal on Sunday in the pew,
 On Monday in the mall.
 For what avail the plough or sail,
 Or land, or life, if freedom fail?

—*Ralph Waldo Emerson* (1851).

What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent.—*Abraham Lincoln* (1861).

Who serves his country well has no need of ancestors.—*François Voltaire* (1760).

To be a good patriot, a man must consider his countrymen as God's creatures, and himself as accountable for his acting towards them.—*George Berkeley* (1748).

In a free country every man thinks he has a concern in all public matters—that he has a right to form and a right to deliver an opinion on them. That it is that fills countries with men of ability in all stations.—*Edmund Burke* (1789).

We ought to remind ourselves every day of the ideals on which this country was founded—the ideals of opportunity for all people, equal rights for all.—*Joseph Pasternak* (1940).

Free Homes

The poorest man may, in his cottage, bid defiance to all the forces of the Crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the wind may blow through it; the storm may enter; the rain may enter; but the King of England may not enter; all his force dares not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement.—*William Pitt* (1786).

Near in importance to exemption from any arbitrary control of the person is that maxim of the common law which secures to the citizen immunity in his home against the prying eyes of the government and protection in person, property, and papers against even the process of the law, except in a few specified cases. The maxim that "every man's house is his castle," is made a part of our constitutional law in the clauses prohibiting unreasonable searches and seizures, and has always been looked upon as of high value to the citizen.—*Thomas M. Cooley* (1898).

The constitutional guaranty of the right of the people to be secure in their papers against unreasonable searches and seizures extends to their papers, thus closed against inspection, wherever they may be. Whilst in the mail, they can only be opened and examined under like warrant, issued upon similar oath or affirmation, particularly describing the thing to be seized, as is required when papers are subjected to search in one's own household. No law of Congress can place in the hands of officials connected with the postal service any authority to invade the secrecy of letters and such sealed packages in the mail; and all regulations adopted as to mail matter of this kind must be in subordination to the great principle embodied in the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution.—*Stephen J. Field* (1877).

A man's house is his castle, and his home is his safest refuge.—*Sir Edward Coke* (1628).

What We Read and Write

There has never been an hour when the first aid to autocracy has not been the placing of the press in leash.—*Melvin E. Stone* (1873).

The liberty of the press is essential to the nature of a free state.—*Sir William Blackstone* (1769).

The press is the mistress of intelligence, and intelligence is mistress of the world.—*Jean Joseph Benjamin-Constant* (1880).

Where the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1816).

It is now beginning to be felt that journalism is to modern Europe what political oratory was to Athens and Rome, and that, to become what it ought, it should be wielded by the same sort of men.—*John Stuart Mill* (1870).

The freedom of the press is vital to human progress . . . Public opinion and the sources of its information may be controlled by despotism for a certain length of time. It is unthinkable, however, that such control can continue indefinitely. There must come a time when the instinct for individual expression will re-

assert itself and will begin anew that familiar course of discussion and debate which in the long run will lead back to democracy.—*Nicholas Murray Butler* (1936).

It is necessary that every vehicle of communication, every instrument, and every faculty by which Mind can correspond with Mind, should remain entirely free from influence. The Press, as the most important and powerful vehicle of sentiment, should remain independent of Government, and only be subjected to the censorial jurisdiction of society. The establishment of a Licenser is, of all expedients, the most dangerous.—*Tunis Wortman* (1800).

The printers can never leave us in a state of perfect rest and union of opinion. They would be no longer useful and would have to go to the plow.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1801).

The printer is a faithful servant. Without him tyrants and humbugs in all countries would have everything their own way.—*Charles Dickens* (1864).

Public opinion has a more direct, a more comprehensive, a more efficient organ for its utterance, than a body of men sectionally chosen. The printing-press is a political element unknown to classic or feudal times. It absorbs in a great degree the duties of the sovereign, the priest, the parliament; it controls, it educates, it discusses.—*Benjamin Disraeli* (1873).

Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the Liberty of the Press is the Palladium of all civil, political and religious Rights of Freemen.—*Junius* (1760).

No government ought to be without censors; and where the press is free, no one ever will.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1792).

The Liberty of the Press—it is as the air we breathe; if we have it not, we die.—*Old Political Toast.*

The enlargement of freedom has always been due to heretics who have been unrequited during their day and defamed when dead. No (other) publisher in any country ever incurred so much peril to free the press as Richard Carlile. Every British bookseller has profited by his intrepidity and endurance. Speculations of philosophy and science, which are now part of the common intelligence, power and profit, would have been stifled to this day but for him.—*George Jacob Holyoake* (1880).

Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1786).

I should feel myself called upon to protect an infidel or Mohammedan paper, if assailed; or to re-establish it, if destroyed; as much as a paper designed to advocate the truths of Christianity.—*Edward Beecher* (1876).

Give me but the liberty of the press and I will give to the minister a venal house of peers. I will give him a corrupt and servile house of commons. I will give him the full swing of the patronage of office. I will give him the whole host of ministerial influence. I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him, to purchase up submission and overawe resistance; and yet, armed with the liberty of the press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed. I will attack the mighty fabric of that mightier engine. I will shake

down from its height corruption and bury it beneath the ruins of the abuses it was meant to shelter.—*Richard Brinsley Sheridan* (1810).

The most essential problem in the making of a durable peace is in the dissolution of any partnership that may exist in any country between government and the press.—*David Lawrence* (1925).

I am for freedom of the press, and against all violations of the constitution to silence by force, and not by reason the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their agents.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1799).

Democracy believes in freedom of the press. No news should be suppressed, but neither should the agencies of information fall into the hands of undemocratic groups. The press and radio are among the most powerful of all the weapons of democracy. An enlightened press can educate farmers, workers and industrialists as to their common interests in genuinely productive capital.—*Henry A. Wallace* (1938).

Truth

Conscious that there was not a truth on earth which I feared should be known, I have lent myself willingly as the subject of a great experiment, which was to prove that an administration, conducting itself with integrity and common understanding, cannot be battered down, even by the falsehoods of a licentious press, and consequently still less by the press as restrained within the legal and wholesome limits of truth. This experiment was wanting for the world to demonstrate the falsehood of the pretext that freedom of the press is incompatible with orderly government. I have never, therefore, even contradicted the thousands of calumnies so industriously propagated against myself. But the fact being once established, that the press is impotent when it abandon itself to falsehood, I leave to others to restore it to its strength, by recalling it within the pale of truth. Within that, it is a noble institution, equally the friend of science and of civil liberty.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1807).

Men are never so likely to settle a question rightly, as when they discuss it freely. A government can interfere in discussion only by making it less free than it would otherwise be. Men are most likely to form just opinions when they have no other wish than to know the truth and are exempt from all influence either of hopes and fears to support its doctrines. It carries on controversy not with reasons, but with threats and bribes. If it employs reasons, it does so not in virtue of any powers which belong to it as a government. Thus, instead of a contest between argument and argument, we have a contest between argument and force. Instead of a contest in which truth, from the natural Constitution of the human mind, has a decided advantage over falsehood, we have a contest in which truth can be victorious only by accident.—*Thomas B. Macaulay* (1830).

If the Waters of Truth flow not in a continual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition; and although all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injury by licensing and prohibiting to doubt her strength.—*John Milton* (1659).

Let us all seek truth as if none of us had possession of it.—*Constantin F. Volney* (1810).

The truth is perilous never to the true,
Nor knowledge to the wise.

—*Philip James Bailey* (1875).

Every new truth which has ever been propounded has, for a time, caused mischief; it has produced discomfort, and often unhappiness; sometimes by disturbing social or religious arrangements, and sometimes merely by the disruption of old and cherished association of thoughts. It is only after a certain interval, and when the framework of affairs has adjusted itself to the new truth, that its good effects preponderate; and the preponderance continues to increase, until, at length, the truth causes nothing but good. But, at the outset there is always harm. And if the truth is very great as well as very new the harm is serious. Men are made uneasy; they flinch; they cannot bear the sudden light; a general restlessness supervenes; the face of society is disturbed, or perhaps convulsed; old interests and old beliefs have been destroyed before new ones have been created. These symptoms are the precursors of revolution; they have preceded all the great changes through which the world has passed.—*Henry T. Buckle* (1860).

The boys of the rising generation are to be the men of the next, and the sole guardians of the principles we deliver over to them. Truth and reason are eternal. They have prevailed. And they will eternally prevail, however in times and places they may be overborne for a while by violence, military, civil, or ecclesiastical. The preservation of the holy fire is confided to us by the world, and the sparks which emanate from it will ever serve to kindle it in other quarters of the globe.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1812).

To the pure all things are pure. Knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently books if the will and conscience be not defiled. All opinions, yea, errors known, read and collated, are of main service and assistance toward speedy attainment of what is truest. To prevent men thinking and acting for themselves, by restraints on the press, is like to the exploits of that gallant man who thought to pound up crows by shutting his park gate . . . A forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the face of they that seek to tread it out. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience above all other liberties.—*John Milton* (1665).

All truth is safe, and nothing else is safe; and he who keeps back the truth or withholds it from men, from motives of expediency, is either a coward, or a criminal, or both.—*Mao Miller* (1889).

As a vessel is known by the sound, whether it be cracked or not; so men are proved, by their speeches, whether they be wise or foolish.—*Demosthenes*.

The firmness with which the people have withheld the late abuses of the press, the discernment they have manifested between truth and falsehood, show that they may safely be trusted to hear everything true and false, and to form a correct judgment between them.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1804).

Truth is something that comes from the conflict of differing opinions. When two dark clouds clash, lightning leaps forth; and when there is the clash between conflicting opinions, it is from that clash that truth leaps forth.—*Joseph Proskauer* (1928).

For the great enemy of knowledge is not error, but inertness. All that we want is discussion, and then we are sure to do well, no matter what our blunders may be. One error conflicts with another; each destroys its opponent, and truth is evolved.—*Henry T. Buckle* (1857).

Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction; but herein the difference is of bad books, that they to a discreet and judicious reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, forewarn, and to illustrate . . . All opinions, yea, errors, known, read and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest.—*John Milton* (1644).

He is the freeman whom the truth makes free,
And all are slaves besides.

—*William Cowper* (1785).

True opinions can prevail only if the facts to which they refer are known; if they are not known, false ideas are just as effective as true ones, if not a little more effective.—*Walter Lippmann* (1929).

Indeed, no opinion or doctrine, of whatever nature it be, or whatever be its tendency, ought to be suppressed. For it is either manifestly true, or it is manifestly false, or its truth or falsehood is dubious. Its tendency is manifestly good, or manifestly bad, or it is dubious and concealed. There are no other assignable conditions, no other functions of the problem.

In the case of its being manifestly true, and of good tendency, there can be no dispute. Nor in the case of its being manifestly otherwise; for by the terms it can mislead nobody. If its truth or its tendency be dubious, it is clear that nothing can bring the good to light, or expose the evil, but full and free discussion. Until this takes place, a plausible fallacy may do harm; but discussion is sure to elicit the truth, and fix public opinion on a proper basis; and nothing else can do it.—*Thomas Cooper* (1800).

And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.—*John* 8: 32.

Thinking as We Please

In a free country, every man thinks he has a concern in all public matters; that he has a right to form and a right to deliver an opinion upon them. They sift, examine, and discuss them. They are curious, eager, attentive, and jealous; and by making such matters the daily subjects of their thoughts and discoveries, vast numbers contract a very tolerable knowledge of them, and some a very considerable one. And this it is that fills free countries with men of ability in all stations. Whereas in other countries, none but men whose office calls them to it having not much care or thought about public affairs, and not daring to try the force of their opinions with one another, ability of this sort is extremely rare in any station in life.—*Edmund Burke* (1777).

Freedom of men under government is to have a standing rule to live by, common to every one of that society, and made by the legislative power vested in it; a liberty to follow my own will in all things, where that rule prescribes not, and not to be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man.—*John Locke* (1690).

It is the ferment of ideas, the clash of disagreeing judgments, the privilege of the individual to develop his own thought and shape his own character which makes progress possible.—*Calvin Coolidge* (1925).

To suffer a civil magistrate to intrude his power into the field of opinion at once destroys all liberty because he will approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own. It is time enough to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1787).

We need only to glance at the current world scene to realize that the preservation of individual liberty is more important today than ever it was in the past. The safety of our nation depends upon the extent to which we foster in each individual citizen that sturdy independence of thought and action, which is essential in a democracy.—*Albert B. Maris* (1938).

So long as faith with freedom reigns
And loyal hope survives,
And gracious charity remains
To leaven lowly lives;
While there is one untrodden tract
For intellect or will,
And men are free to think and act,
Life is worth living still.

—*Alfred Austin* (1900).

I have sworn upon the alter of the living God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.—*Thomas Jefferson* (1787).

Over against Nature stands Man, and deep in his heart is the passion for liberty. For the passion for liberty is only another name for life itself. Liberty is a word of much sophistication, but it means, when it means anything, opportunity to live one's own life in one's own way.—*Charles Ferguson* (1900).

Ideas are always liveliest when attempts are made to suppress them. The very worst way to suppress an idea is to attempt to suppress it. For, if an idea is true, you can't suppress it, and if it is false it does not need to be suppressed—it will suppress itself. If we all agreed finally and for good, talking would be nonsense. But because we disagree, talking is the part of wisdom.—*Horace Traubel*.

What other liberty is there worth having, if we have not freedom and peace in our minds, if our inmost and most private man is but a sour and turbid pool?—*Henry David Thoreau* (1853).

Free Government

The Republican form of government is the highest form of government; but because of this it requires the highest type of human nature.—*Herbert Spencer* (1900).

There is what I call the American idea. This idea demands, as the proximate organization thereof, a democracy; that is, a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people; of course, a government of the principles of eternal justice, the unchanging law of God; for shortness' sake I will call it the idea of Freedom.—*Theodore Parker* (1850).

I have always regarded that (the American) Constitution as the most remarkable work known to me in modern times to have been produced by the human intellect, at a single stroke, so to speak, in its application to political affairs.—*William Ewart Gladstone* (1887).

The American Constitution is no exception to the rule that everything which has power to win the obedience and respect of men must have its roots deep in the past, and, that the more slowly every institution has grown, so much the more enduring is it likely to prove. There is a hearty puritanism in the view of human nature which pervades the instrument of 1787.—*James V. Bryce* (1910).

The doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound because its enforcement is important to our peace and safety as a nation, and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions, and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government. It was intended to apply to every stage of our national life and cannot become obsolete while our Republic endures.—*Grover Cleveland* (1895).

Democracy will itself accomplish the salutary universal change from delusive to real, and make a new blessed world of us by and by.—*Thomas Carlyle* (1876).

Democracy is the healthful lifeblood which circulates through the veins and arteries, which supports the system, but which ought never to appear externally, and as the mere blood itself.—*Samuel T. Coleridge* (1830).

Freedom in a democracy is the glory of the state, and, therefore, in a democracy only will the freeman of nature deign to dwell.—*Plato*.

By the blessing of God, may that country (America) itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of wisdom, of peace, and of liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever!—*Daniel Webster* (1825).

I believe in Democracy because it releases the energies of every human being.—*Woodrow Wilson* (1912).

A song for our banner? The watchword recall
Which gave the Republic her station:
"United we stand, divided we fall!"
It made and preserves us a nation!
The union of lakes—the union of lands—
The union of States none can sever—
The union of hearts—the union of hands—
And the Flag of our Union forever!

—*George Pope Morris* (1840).

Our government was founded to give life to certain basic principles of human rights, which the people embodied in the Constitution as the Bill of Rights.—*Alfred M. Landon* (1936).

The true ends of social justice can be achieved only in conditions of individual freedom under law, through the institutions of popular government.—*Cordell Hull* (1939).

We must never forget the most important function of government—to preserve by orderly, well considered processes the rights and dignity of the individual. There are many such rights, but first among them is the right to freedom—freedom to enjoy a full life, freedom of opportunity to win the good things of life, freedom to achieve a proportionate share of the modern luxuries which make life happier and more complete.

There are other rights—basic rights of the free man; the right to worship as he sees fit; the right to think clearly and honestly and to act on such thoughts; the right to freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of public assembly. These rights must not be violated.—*Thomas E. Dewey* (1938).

We have a great, popular, constitutional government, guarded by law and by judicature, and defended by the affections of the whole people. No monarchial throne presses these States together, no iron chain of military power encircles them; they live and stand under a government popular in its form, representative in its character, founded upon principles of equality, and so constructed, we hope, as to last for ever.—*Daniel Webster* (1850).

The purpose of democracy is the minimizing of injustices and the universalizing of its gains.—*Charles S. Johnson* (1936).

We, in this great American Republic are, and should be, the gilding star for all the world; and if, united with the other nations related to us in spirit and aspirations, we do our full duty, progress will be assured, the peace of the world will be conserved, and we shall set an example that will be emulated all over the world.—*Rudolph Blankenburg* (1918).

Oppression will drive men mad. But we know how to make States that will stand, and not merely stand still, but that will radiate, vitalize and illuminate the world.—*Henry Ward Beecher* (1880).

I believe that this Constitution is likely to be well administered for a course of years and can only end in despotism as other forms have done before it when the people shall become so corrupt as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other.—*Benjamin Franklin* (1787).

Civil and religious liberty, universal education and the right to participate, directly or through representatives chosen by himself, in all the affairs of government—these give to the American citizen an opportunity and an inspiration which can be found nowhere else.—*William Jennings Bryan* (1899).

Let us look for guidance to the principles of true Democracy, which are enduring because they are right, and invincible because they are just.—*Grover Cleveland* (1882).

The idea of democracy is eternal. . . . Democracy wishes to raise up mankind, to give it freedom, and its greatest strength lies in its deep spiritual and moral self-consciousness.—*Thomas Mann* (1940).

Here (in America) human dignity has been developed to such a point that it would be impossible for people to endure life under a system in which the individual is only a slave of the State and has no voice in his government and no decision on his own way of life.—*Albert Einstein* (1940).

Democracy is a word which has many shades of meaning. It means not only a form of government but a way of living. It means also many great ideals of human conduct and relations which perhaps no country has ever entirely realized.—*Raoul d'Eca* (1940).

No men were less revolutionary in spirit than the heroes of the American Revolution. They made a revolution in the name of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights.—*James V. Bryce* (1898).

We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.—*Woodrow Wilson* (1917).

**Memorable Stories of
Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness**

D

Oppressive Government

One day as Confucius and some of his disciples were going past T'ai Mountain they noticed a woman weeping over a newly made grave. Wondering what relative she grieved for, Confucius bade one of his followers ask her the cause of her sorrow.

"My husband's fathey was killed here by a tiger," she explained, "and so also was my husband. And now my son has met the same fate."

"Why then," asked the disciple, "do you not leave this place for a safer abode?"

The weeping woman replied: "I do not leave because here, at least, there is no oppressive government."

When the disciple returned to the group and told his story, Confucius said: "Remember this, oppressive government is more to be feared than a tiger."—THE RIGHTS WE DEFEND, Williams, p. 13.

The Wages of a Slave

In the year 9 A. D. two brothers, Hermann and Flavus, were sent to Rome to study military methods. When their period of training was over, Hermann returned to his native forests to train his people in the Roman ways of war; Flavus stayed in the southland as one of the Emperor's guard.

As the legions of Augustus swept northward, the clans which fought under Hermann found that they could more than hold their own against the invader. However, they had to defeat the Romans in several battles before Teuton independence was complete. And in one of these battles Hermann found that he was facing a Roman company commanded by his brother Flavus.

On the eve of the battle the brothers talked across a river. Hermann noticed that his brother wore a patch over one eye. Flavus explained that he had lost the eye in the service of the Emperor.

"And what has been your recompense?" asked Hermann.

"I have received an increase in pay, a military chain, an ornamental crown, and honors," answered Flavus.

Hermann said scornfully: "They are the wages of a slave cheaply purchased."—GREAT MOMENTS IN FREEDOM, Lansing, p. 81.

"Why Didn't They Ask for My Kingdom?"

Continued demands upon King John for reform were slighted and evaded until an aroused populace marched on London, captured the arrogant King, and penned him up on an island in the Thames. There, at the insistence of his barons and nobles, he was forced to sign the *Magna Carta*.

The angry prisoner placed his signature and seal on the document. Then, as the happy barons left, the King fell to the ground in rage, gnashing his teeth and breaking to pieces small sticks which came into his hands as they opened and closed in fitful frenzy. "Why," he cried, "when they were asking, didn't they ask for my Kingdom also?"—*GREAT MOMENTS IN FREEDOM*, Lansing, p. 176.

He Refused To Bow

Austria, conqueror of Switzerland in the fourteenth century, believed in keeping the Swiss reminded of their fate. In the village square of Altdorf, for example, they placed a hat on top of the flagpole. All were ordered to bow to this, since it symbolized the power of the Austrian Emperor. But William Tell refused to bow.

"Thou shalt shoot an apple from the head of thy son," was the decree of the local authority for this affront to Austrian power. Tell's only other choice was certain death for both himself and his son.

The son was stood against a tree. William Tell shot and his aim was true. But he held another arrow in reserve. He confessed to the local governor what it would have been used for if he had missed and harm had come to his son.

"I would have shot you with this other arrow," he said, "and believe me, I should not have missed you."—*GREAT MOMENTS IN FREEDOM*, Lansing, p. 109.

"What I Do, I Do Freely for Liberty"

"There seems no reason that our colony should be too precipitate in changing the present mode of government," said John Jay when the move for independence was being discussed. "I would first be well assured of the opinion of the inhabitants at large. Let them be rather followed than driven on an occasion of such moment."

To check on the feelings of the populace, Jay employed an investigator. When he reported to his employer on the results of his survey, Jay offered him the money that had been agreed upon. "Sir," he said, "I cannot take it. The country has need of every dollar to prosecute the war. I can work; I can get my living. Never mind any

money for me. What I do, I do freely for liberty."—HISTORIC AMERICANS, Brooks, p. 147.

A Good Listener

In an unpretentious brick house in Philadelphia, Thomas Jefferson wrote and rewrote what was later to be called *The Declaration of Independence*. As he finished the final draft, he heard a knock at the door.

"Come in," he said, wearily but cheerful.

The caller was Benjamin Franklin.

"Well, Brother Jefferson," he asked, "is the fair copy made?"

"All ready, Doctor. Will you hear it through once more?"

"As many times as you wish," said the elderly statesman. "One can't get too much of a good thing, you know."

After Jefferson had finished reading it Franklin sat back and beamed. "That's good, Thomas!" he exclaimed. "That's right to the point; that will make King George wince. I wish I had done it myself."—HISTORIC AMERICANS, Brooks, p. 101.

"We Do Not Wish To Molest You . . ."

St. Augustine, who came to England as a Christian missionary, met King Ethelbert on the Isle of Thanet in 597 A. D. Although the King could not accept Christianity himself, he addressed St. Augustine and his fellow-workers in the following words:

"Because you have come hither as strangers from a long distance, and what you yourselves believe to be true and good you wish to impart to us, we do not wish to molest you. Nay, we are anxious to receive you hospitably, and we will give you all that is needed for your support. Nor will we hinder you from joining all whom you can to the faith of your religion."—ENGLAND'S VOICE OF FREEDOM, Nevinson, p. 27.

"We Shall Light a Candle".

Because they would not bow to the crowned heads of their country in matters of religion, Bishop Latimer and Bishop Ridley were burned at the stake on October 16, 1555.

As they were led to the stake, Bishop Latimer smiled to all about him, but Ridley was dragged along, quaking with terror. When the flames leaped up around them Latimer called to the horrified Ridley: "Be of good comfort Master Ridley, we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as, I trust, shall never be put out."—HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND GREATER BRITAIN, Cross, p. 239.

No Man Shall Interfere

When Massachusetts prevented Roger Williams from practicing the religious principles in which he believed, he fled to Rhode Island. There he founded a colony in which any religion, or no religion at all, would be tolerated. Civil authorities would tend only to civil problems.

"The straining of men's consciences by the civil power," he declared, "is so far from making men faithful to God or man, that it is a ready way to render them false to both."

One of the men who came down from Boston to live in the new colony, aptly called "Providence," was Joshua Verein. For twelve months he did not attend any church services whatever. Williams said nothing.

But one day it was found that Joshua Verein had beaten his wife because she went to church. This was something which came under the jurisdiction of the civil authority; a man was interfering with the religious freedom of another person.

It made no difference to Roger Williams that this other person was the wife of the man who beat her. Joshua Verein was banished from the colony.—*LIFE OF ROGER WILLIAMS*, Easton, p. 243.

Masterpiece Written in Jail

When the Act of Uniformity was passed in 1660 John Bunyan, the son of a poor tinker who followed that trade himself and preached "on the side," found that the law made his preaching illegal. But he felt that the law was unjust. He continued to preach to the hundreds who came to hear him until he was arrested and thrown into the Bedford jail.

For twelve years he languished there; making tagged laces for his own support, preaching to his fellow-prisoners, and writing several books, among which was one entitled *Grace Abounding*.

Upon being freed, he went back to his preaching. He was warned; refused to desist; and was again taken into custody. It was during this second term in jail that he wrote the book which was to become one of the religious masterpieces of all time: *Pilgrim's Progress*.—*ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS*, p. 897.

"We Must Give the Liberty We Ask"

One day William Penn, who was bringing people to America in order that they might be free to follow the tenets of Quakerism, took a friend to the outskirts of London to view an unusual sight.

There, before the astonished eyes of the visitor, were thousands of Germans waiting to sail for America.

"Are these all Friends?" queried the amazed visitor. This was the term applied to those who followed Quakerism.

"No," answered Penn, "they are Mennonites, Moravians; even some Catholics."

"But is it wise to mix men of such different views?" asked the astonished friend.

"We must be true to our principles," insisted Penn. "We would have none to suffer for dissent on any hand. We must give the liberty we ask."—*RELIGIOUS LIBERTY*, Williams, p. 48.

Guns Cannot Kill a Faith

Joseph Smith, leader of the Mormons, had been taken into protective custody at Nauvoo, Mo., because a hostile mob threatened his life. As the throng around the jail grew bigger and fiercer, Governor Ford stated firmly that he had promised Smith protection and he meant to stand by his word.

"But the mob is armed," pleaded the captain in charge of the militia around the jail. "There will be bloodshed."

"Yes, send the soldiers away," urged Joseph Smith. He was reluctant to see men killed over an issue that concerned none of them.

"Without the soldiers your lives aren't worth a continental," argued the Governor. "The mob will kill you."

"Perhaps it will," replied Joseph Smith, "but those people can't kill what we stand for."

Joseph Smith was killed by the mob. But, as he prophesied, his religion did not die. It went on growing under the leadership of another man, Brigham Young.—*LET FREEDOMRING!*, Calhoun, p. 129.

Refutation, Not Suppression

One of the earliest exponents of freedom of the press was Louis XII of France. In 1513 he issued an edict stating that printers should be free from all restrictions. In it he spoke with great appreciation and admiration of the printing art, the discovery of which he considered "rather divine than human." He congratulated his kingdom on their leadership in the development of printing, saying that in this "France takes precedence of all other realms."

When the Council of Pisa condemned a book as heretical, Louis said: "Take no measures of severity against the author, but let the learned professors go over the book chapter by chapter and write a refutation of any part which seems contrary to truth."—*BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS*, Putnam, p. 6.

Truth Ought To Govern

John Peter Zenger, publisher of the *Weekly Journal* of New York, thought it expedient to disagree with the existing government, and was brought to trial, accused of "seditious libel."

After two of his lawyers were disbarred, the aging Andrew Hamilton made the arduous journey from Philadelphia to take up the fight. Despite his arguments the judge instructed the jury to rule only on whether or not Zenger had printed the material.

Hamilton refused to let the jury act on these instructions. He argued that "it is a right which all free men claim . . . to complain when they are hurt; they have a right publicly to remonstrate against abuses of power . . . Truth ought to govern the whole affair of libels." He further contended that such questions as the criminal intent and the truth of the publication should be left up to the jury to decide, and ended with the plea: "It is not the cause of a poor printer which you are now trying: No! It is the best cause: It is the cause of liberty!"

The jury disregarded the instructions of the judge and set Zenger free. This event has been called "the Morning Star of that Liberty which subsequently revolutionized America."—CONSTITUTIONAL FREE SPEECH, Schroeder, p. 53.

Rights of a Free Press

In 1762 John Wilkes was charged with libeling the King in his fun-poking newspaper *The North Briton*. The offensive issue was ordered burned by the common hangman, and Wilkes was expelled from the House of Commons. The provocative item was reprinted, and Wilkes was sent to the pillory. Court appeals failed, and because the case agitated riots, Wilkes fled to the continent.

Four more times Wilkes was elected to the House of Commons, and four more times he was denied his seat, although the last time his opponent received only one-fourth as many votes as Wilkes.

This all cost money, and Wilkes was sinking into debt. But he was so popular that a public subscription squared him with his creditors, and a court awarded him damages for unlawful arrest.

Again elected to Parliament, his greatest victory in the fight for a free press came with the House order to erase from its records the minutes for his expulsion as "subversive to the rights of the electors of the United Kingdom." His later elevation to the office of Lord Mayor of London clothed him with the power to release all printers who were being held for supposed violations of law.—POPULAR PROGRESS IN ENGLAND, Routledge, p. 111.

Mutiny on Paper

As a direct outcome of the passage of the Mutiny Act of 1769, there appeared in New York two pamphlets which voiced the discontent of the colonists. One was entitled *A Son of Liberty*; the other *Legion*. They summoned a meeting of "the betrayed inhabitants of the City and Colony of New York" to air grievances.

The New York State Assembly branded these as libelous. The Governor set about ascertaining who was the author of the pamphlets. One Capt. Alexander McDougall was pronounced the slanderer, his guilt leaning on the confessions extracted by nefarious methods from printers. McDougall refused to admit authorship, but was put in jail.

He was a popular prisoner. Instead of sulking about his fate, he and his friends made a big joke of it, much to the embarrassment of the authorities. By a remarkable coincidence the assembly records of the McDougall case appeared on page 45 of the Journal. It was issue number 45 of *The North Briton* which had gotten John Wilkes, English crusader for a free press, into trouble. An account of one of McDougall's jail receptions states: "Yesterday, the 45th day of the year, 45 gentlemen, real enemies to internal taxation, went to the New Gaol; and dined with him on 45 pounds of beef, cut from a bullock 45 months old."

A storm of pamphlets opposing the crown began to roll from the presses, and the spearhead of the attack, McDougall, was freed. The English authorities were forced to surrender in their efforts to control a press so popular.—*LIBERTY OF THE PRESS*, Schuyler, p. 64.

42 Years Until Victory

Matthew Lyon, congressman from Vermont, published a letter in the *Vermont Gazette* criticizing President John Adams, and was brought to trial by the Federalists on charges of violating the Alien and Sedition Laws. He pled his own case badly, and was convicted, fined, and sentenced to serve a term in prison.

His constituents took up a collection to pay his fine, and even re-elected him to Congress when he was in jail. They got up petitions for his release, but he would not sign them himself. Without his signature on the papers, President Adams refused to consider them.

When Jefferson took office he pardoned Lyon, as he did all the others prosecuted under the Alien and Sedition Laws. But Lyon's final victory over what he deemed an unjust law did not come until 42 years later, when Congress refunded his fine.—*FREEDOM OF INQUIRY AND EXPRESSION*, Cheyney, p. 5.

Sufficient Evidence

One day when Baron Humbolt, a European nobleman, was visiting President Jefferson at the White House he found a copy of a newspaper on Jefferson's desk. Glancing through it he was surprised to find that it was one of the most abusive papers of the day, and contained bitter attacks upon the President.

"Why are these libels allowed?" he indignantly asked. "Why is not this libelous journal suppressed, and its editor imprisoned?"

"Put this paper in your pocket," Jefferson said, smiling, "and should you hear the reality of our liberty, the freedom of the press, *questioned*, show this paper and tell where you found it."—LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, Williams, p. 48.

"But I Cannot Desert It"

One of the great American martyrs in the battle for a free press was Elijah Lovejoy, who lived and worked in the border States three decades before the Civil War. Many abolitionist presses had been destroyed in Baltimore, Cincinnati, and points even farther north. Lovejoy was aware that his crusade for such an unpopular cause in Missouri and Southern Illinois meant arousing the ire of mobs.

Three presses belonging to Lovejoy were destroyed. Yet he persisted in fighting for what he believed was right.

"I have asked for nothing but to be protected in my rights as a citizen—rights which God has given me, and which are guaranteed to me by the Constitution of my country. . . . I can die at my post, but I cannot desert it."

His words were prophetic, for a few nights later as Lovejoy and his friends tried to stop a mob from smashing his fourth press, he was killed.—FREEDOM OF INQUIRY AND EXPRESSION, Cheyney, p. 7.

A Demand for Free Speech

More than once in his early years Lincoln championed the right of free speech. On one of these occasions, at a political meeting in Springfield, Ill., in 1840, he fearlessly faced an angry crowd and saved a fellow speaker from partisan violence. Edward Dickinson Baker aroused so much hostility by his unpopular views at one meeting that the crowd threatened to drag him from the platform and beat him.

Lincoln mounted the platform, waved his hand for attention, and said: "Mr. Baker has a right to speak, and ought to be permitted to do so. I am here to protect him, and no man shall take him from

his stand if I can prevent it. Gentlemen, this is a land where freedom of speech is guaranteed."

His forcible reproof and resolute attitude restored order, and Baker was given a respectful hearing.—*ONE THOUSAND SAYINGS OF HISTORY*, Fogg, p. 810.

"Fair Play!" They Shouted

During the Boer War a bearded pacifist stood on a bench in Hyde Park, London's free speech zone, and denounced his government for attacking the South African Dutchmen. A half-drunk soldier, just back from the battle front, started to call the speaker names. The crowd around him immediately objected.

"Fair play! Fair play!" they shouted. "Let the old man talk himself out."

Maintaining this spirit, England went through the war without checking free speech.—*FREEDOM OF SPEECH*, Johnsen, p. 99.

Few People Troubled To Listen

Shortly before the World War, when George Creel was made police commissioner of Denver, a man labeled an "anarchist" wished to make a speech in that Colorado city. The papers demanded that the man be kept out.

But Creel saw the danger involved in persecuting speakers with unpopular views. He issued a public invitation to the anarchist to come to town and speak anywhere. When the puzzled agitator called upon Creel he found the commissioner more than cooperative. Creel wanted him to speak wherever he thought he could get the biggest crowd. He suggested that the man speak from the steps of the city hall. And he promised the speaker the protection of the police.

To the cry of the alarmists Creel stated that if the man had anything to say he should be heard; if not, nobody would listen anyway.

The man spoke, protected by the very Government he was attacking. And few people bothered to listen.—*FREEDOM OF SPEECH*, Johnsen, p. 99.

A Jury Asserts Its Rights

When William Penn and William Mead found their meeting house locked, they began to preach in the street outside. Immediately they were brought into court charged with "contempt of law, disturbing the peace, ill example" and several other vague counts.

Penn argued that the indictment listed no specific law which had been violated. Therefore, he contended, since there was no

law there was no transgression, and he was being tried illegally. The argument only served to make the judge think Penn was "too saucy." He ordered the jury to bring in a verdict of "Guilty."

The jury, headed by Edward Bushell, refused to take orders, and was threatened by the judge. Hearing of this, Penn shouted: "You are Englishmen, mind your privilege, give not away your right." Thus strengthened, Bushell and his fellow jurors brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty" and were thrown into jail for defying the Court's orders.

But this uprising on the part of the jurors gave others the courage to bring in decisions in accordance with their views of the evidence. The instructions of prejudiced judges were no longer binding on an English jury.—**THE TRYAL OF WILLIAM PENN AND WILLIAM MEAD**, *Penn*, p. 37.

A Principle Means More Than a Cause

The British soldiers quartered in Boston before the Revolution were the symbol of colonial grievances. When some of these soldiers, goaded by tormentors, fired into a crowd, the incident became the rallying point of the colonists. Although only five persons were killed, the affair became known as the "Boston Massacre."

It did not seem that anyone in the colonies would defend the unpopular Redcoats when they were brought to trial. But John Adams and Josiah Quincy came forward as champions of the right of a fair hearing for the soldiers, even though they realized it might mean sacrificing their places of leadership in the colonial cause.

"Facts are stubborn things," argued Adams before a hostile jury, "and whatever may be our wishes, our inclinations, or the dictates of our passions, they cannot alter the state of facts and evidence."

He went on to prove that the shooting was provoked, and therefore was done in self-defense. The jury saw the wisdom of the argument and brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty" for all but two of the soldiers. These two were convicted and lightly sentenced for manslaughter.

Thus was the principle of fair trial asserted on behalf of British soldiers in the colonies, and it was asserted by the very leaders who insisted that these soldiers be withdrawn.—**FAIR TRIAL**, *Williams*, p. 51.

Right to a Fair Trial

When William Trailor, charged with murdering a friend in a squabble, was locked up in the Springfield, Ill., jail in 1838, a crowd gathered in the public square and began growling about "the rope."

Out of the group stepped a tall, gangling lawyer. He argued that

Traitor had a right to a fair trial. When his reasonable contentions failed to stop the surging crowd, Abraham Lincoln began to use stronger language. If anyone believed the prisoner should be lynched he should be willing to fight for that belief. He himself was willing to fight for his belief that the prisoner should be given a hearing.

No one stepped up to challenge the rugged frontiersman, and the crowd soon dispersed. Later, at the trial, Lincoln produced the man who was supposed to have been "murdered." Lincoln's determined stand for an American principle had saved an innocent man from hanging.—*FAIR TRIAL, Williams*, p. 59.

Freedom of Thought

Galileo, Florentine astronomer and inventor, proved to his own satisfaction that the earth moved around the sun. He thereupon set about instructing his pupils in this belief, and began writing articles to prove his contention.

For this he was indicted by the Church, and a recantation was demanded. The indictment stated that the holy tribunal, being desirous of providing against disorder and mischief, considered "absurd philosophically the proposition that the sun is the center of the world and immovable from its place."

Galileo's assertion that the earth moved was likewise frowned upon. "The proposition that the earth is not the center of the world," ruled the infallible judges, "but that it moves with a diurnal motion is also absurd, philosophically false and, theoretically considered, at least erroneous in faith."

The tribunal gave Galileo his choice of death or public denial. Rather than give his life for his beliefs, he recanted. But on his deathbed he asserted that he had always believed his finding to be true. The lip service had been given the authorities in the hope that some of his teachings might be accepted at a later date, and then he would still be alive to aid in dispensing them.—*THE WAR ON MODERN SCIENCE, Shipley*, p. 236.

Earned Lasting Gratitude

Largely due to the work of Horace Mann, the old school of the Puritans was being replaced in Massachusetts by a new and purely American type of school. Instruction was becoming adapted to democratic and national rather than religious ends.

The pulpit and the press directed violent attacks against Mann and his Board of Education. It was claimed that the educators were trying to eliminate the Bible from the schools, to abolish correction, and

to "make the schools a counter-poise to religious instruction at home and in the Sabbath schools."

Mann, however, held that any attempt to decide what creed or doctrine should be taught was undemocratic, and would mean the ruin of the schools.

The battle culminated in an attempt by the religious forces to abolish the Board of Education. The movement failed. Governor Briggs commended Mann's stand by saying: "Justice to a faithful public officer leads me to say that the indefatigable and accomplished Secretary of the Board of Education has performed services in the cause of the common schools which will earn him the lasting gratitude of the generation to which he belongs."—HORACE MANN AND RELIGION IN THE MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC SCHOOLS, *Culver*, p. 233.

"Long Live the Modern School!"

Francisco Ferrer, progressive freethinker, arrived in Spain in 1901 and began to organize schools along the lines of the modern institutions found elsewhere in Europe. This met with the opposition of church and state, which were practically one and the same. However, the authorities could not prosecute Ferrer on the bold accusation that he was opening progressive schools; they had to find other charges.

When he stated: "It is evident that experiments in psychology and physiology must lead to important changes of education; that teachers, being better able to understand the child, will know better how to adopt their instruction to natural laws," that was too much. He was imprisoned for one year on an alleged charge of bomb-throwing.

Upon his release he refused to desist teaching such "heresies," and soon found himself falsely accused of leading an uprising. The trial was a travesty on justice, but Ferrer was sentenced to be shot in Montjuich fortress on October 13, 1909.

His last words when executed were: "Long live the modern school!"—LIBERTY AND GREAT LIBERTARIANS, *Sprading*, p. 487.

"This Is Democracy!"

When Andrew Jackson took his oath of office as President, most of Washington society fled the inauguration day onslaught of Jackson followers that swarmed into the capitol. But Daniel Webster, the great orator, and Francis Scott Key, author of *The Star Spangled Banner*, two "aristocrats," stayed "to see the show."

As Webster stood with Key, watching the enthusiastic crowd of trappers and pioneers tramp around the White House with their muddy boots, he asked the famous song writer what he made of it.

"A magnificent sight!" exclaimed Francis Scott Key. "Sublime! This is Democracy! For the first time our flag is flying over the land of the free!"—*LET FREEDOM RING!*, *Oakhoun*, p. 209.

Woman Suffrage

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, English leader of the Women's Social and Political Union and advocate for woman's suffrage, criticized the existing government in England and was tried for conspiracy. Speaking from the dock of Old Bailey in 1912 she said:

"There have been over a thousand imprisonments of women already. My Lord, if you send us (suffragists) to prison, we shall go to prison with a firm and steadfast faith that our imprisonment, whether it be long or whether it be short, will be accepted as part of the great price that has to be exacted for the civic and legal liberty of women, which is the safeguard of the moral and spiritual liberty of the women of our country and of our race."—*ENGLAND'S VOICE OF FREEDOM*, *Nevinson*, p. 286.

For Minority Representation

In the New York elections of 1919 five Socialists were elected to the State assembly. When they came before the legislature on January 7, 1920, to be sworn in, that body refused to allow them to take their seats.

Alfred E. Smith, the Governor, protested the action of the governing body in these words: "Although I am unalterably opposed to the fundamental principles of the Socialist Party, it is inconceivable that a minority party, duly constituted and legally organized, should be deprived of its right to expression so long as it has honestly by lawful methods of education and propaganda, succeeded in securing representation, unless the chosen representatives are unfit as individuals."—*OUR TIMES*, *Sullivan*, p. 172.

"You Have Saved Us All Today!"

Their petition avowing the Declaration of Indulgence of 1687 illegal, and its reading impossible, landed the Seven Bishops in prison to await trial. The original intention was to try them for treason, but upon the advice of Jeffreys, James II chose that they be tried for the lesser offense of libel.

The defense argued that the paper which they had presented was not false, malicious, and libelous, but was a respectful petition setting forth facts which were true. An excited England awaited the out-

come of the trial. After a night of deliberation the jury brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty."

The bishops were released amid the cries of the multitudes who shouted: "You have saved us all today!"—**HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND GREATER BRITAIN.** *Cross*, p. 394.

Alien and Sedition Laws

Jedediah Peck was only a poor, uneducated preacher who lived in up-State New York. But he was shrewd, and he had great natural ability and intellectual power.

Upon the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws during the administration of John Adams, Peck became a crusader and circulator of petitions calling for their repeal. For this he was indicted and taken to New York in irons.

His arrest served to fasten attention upon him, and gain converts to the cause of Jefferson. Indeed, the overthrow of the Federalist Party in New York State, and the election of Jefferson to the presidency, is attributed in no small part to Peck. The excitement and indignation aroused by the spectacle of this frail man being transported through the State in the custody of Federal officials, and manacled, helped turn New York's vote, which proved to be deciding, to the Democrats.

Upon his election Jefferson pardoned Peck and all the other victims of the Alien and Sedition Laws, saying: "I consider that law to be a nullity, as absolute and as palpable as if Congress had ordered us to fall down and worship the golden image."—**THE STORY OF COOPERSTOWN**, *Birdsall*, p. 86.

He Wore Down His Opponents

When John Quincy Adams came to the House of Representatives after having held the office of President, he found that a "gag" rule was in effect in that "democratic" stronghold. This rule was aimed expressly at keeping out petitions which asked for the abolition of slavery. But it angered the sense of justice which was so dear to Adams' heart. After all, the Constitution of the United States guaranteed the right of petition.

Beginning in 1831, Adams presented petitions which he said were signed by persons professing to be slaves. This aroused a furor by the men from the slave States. They even threatened to expel Adams from the House, but he persisted in presenting the petitions.

Year after year, in this way, he moved to rescind the gag rule. In one case a petition which he said was signed by 22 slaves so enraged the Southerners that it was not considered beyond the reading of the

first line. Later they were further exasperated to find that the petition was not for the abolition of slavery, but for quite the opposite.

As the aging Adams fought on for what he thought was right, the opposition slowly melted away. Finally, on December 3, 1845, when the man was 78, the vote against the gag rule became a majority position.

In 14 years Adams had won new members to his side and had worn down his opponents. The right of petition in America was dramatically reasserted.—*THE ADAMS FAMILY*, *Adams*, p. 214.

Madison and Liberty

Although born and brought up in a slave-holding State, James Madison detested slavery. He even took up the study of law in order to earn his living "depending as little as possible upon the labour of slaves." During the Revolution he suggested that Virginia free its slaves and allow them to join the army and fight for the principles of liberty. "That would be consonant to the principles of liberty, which ought never to be lost sight of in a contest for liberty."

At the end of the war his Negro boy, Billy ran away. Madison wrote his father not to return the runaway to Virginia, because he was unwilling to transport him and punish him for simply "coveting that liberty for which we have paid the price of so much blood and have proclaimed so often to be the right and worthy pursuit of every human being."—*LIFE OF JAMES MADISON*, *Hunt*, p. 70.

Washington and a Crown

"George Washington will see the wisdom of our proposal and will no doubt accept the crown; and here, before it is disbanded, is the American army which, we pledge ourselves, will support and defend him against all who refuse their allegiance."

This was the idea of some of Washington's friends; men who had been associated with the General in some of his Revolutionary campaigns. After many secret consultations they went in a group one morning to Washington's headquarters. When they urged the General to become their king, his kindly greetings changed into tears. He turned away his face, leaving the dreamers of empire, who had planned to make themselves the courtiers of the new king, wondering at their folly.—*THE STORY OF LIBERTY*, *Baldwin*, p. 160

"It Is a Rising Sun"

While the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were signing the completed draft of the famous document, Benjamin Franklin

pointed toward the President's chair, on the back of which was painted a half-sun. Franklin said to those around him:

"I have often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."—FRAMING OF THE CONSTITUTION, *Farrand*, p. 194.

Those Who Lifted Their Voices

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- Action, John Emerich, Lord** (1834-1902). English historian, *Cambridge Modern History*.
- Adams, James Truslow** (1878-). American historian, *Epic of America* and *March of Democracy*.
- Adams, John** (1735-1826). United States Ambassador to England; Vice President; President, 1797-1801. Quotation is from his defense of English soldiers after the *Boston Massacre*.
- Adams, John Quincy** (1767-1848). American statesman, son of John Adams; Secretary of State; President, 1825-29; Congressman from Massachusetts, 1831-48.
- Adams, Samuel** (1722-1803). American statesman; Governor of Massachusetts.
- Addison, Joseph** (1672-1719). English author; member of Parliament.
- Aristides The Just** (550-467 B. C.). Greek statesman and general.
- Ashurst, Henry F.** (1874-). American statesman; Senator from Arizona.
- Austin, Alfred** (1835-1913). English author and poet laureate; editor, *National Review*.
- Bacon, Francis** (1561-1626). English author, *Advancement of Learning*; member of Parliament; Lord Chancellor.
- Bagehot, Walter** (1826-77). English author, *The English Constitution*; editor, *Economist*.
- Bailey, Philip James** (1810-1902). English poet.
- Beecher, Edward** (1803-95). American clergyman; college president; author, *The Concord of Ages*.
- Beecher, Henry Ward** (1813-87). American clergyman; editor, *The Independent* and *Christian Union*.
- Benjamin-Constant, Jean Joseph** (1845-1902). French painter; member of the Legion of Honor.
- Berkeley, George** (1685-1753). Irish bishop; author, *A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*.
- Black, Hugo LaFayette** (1886-). Senator from Alabama; Justice United States Supreme Court.
- Blackstone, Sir William** (1723-80). English jurist; author, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*.
- Blankenburg, Rudolph** (1843-1918). Mayor of Philadelphia; born in Germany.
- Bolingbroke, Henry Saint-John, Viscount** (1678-1751). English statesman; member of Parliament; Secretary of War; Secretary of State.
- Bonaparte, Charles Joseph** (1851-1921). American statesman; Secretary of the Navy; Attorney General.
- Borah, William Edgar** (1865-1940). American statesman; Senator from Idaho.

- Bradlaugh, Charles (1833-91). English statesman; founder of *National Reformer*; member of Parliament.
- Brewer, David Josiah (1837-1910). Justice United States Supreme Court.
- Bright, John (1811-89). English statesman; member of Parliament; author, *Speeches on Parliamentary Reform*.
- Bruce, Robert (1274-1329). King of Scotland.
- Bryan, William Jennings (1860-1925). American statesman; Congressman from Nebraska; Democratic candidate for President 1896, 1900, and 1908; Secretary of State.
- Bryce, James V., Viscount. (1838-1922). English statesman; author, *The American Commonwealth*.
- Buckle, Henry Thomas (1822-62). English historian, *History of Civilization in England*.
- Burke, Edmund (1729-07). British statesman; member of Parliament; author, *Vindication of Natural Society*.
- Butler, Nicholas Murray (1862-). American educator; President of Columbia University; author, *True and False Democracy*.
- Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord (1788-1824). English poet; died commanding Greek insurgents at Missolonghi.
- Cady, Daniel Leavens (1861-1934). American poet, *The Hill of Bennington*.
- Carlyle, Thomas (1795-1881). Scottish essayist and historian.
- Cervantes, Miguel de (1547-1616). Spanish author, *Don Quixote*.
- Channing, William Ellery (1780-1842). American clergyman; one of the founders of Unitarianism.
- Chapin, Edwin Hubbell (1814-80). American clergyman; author, *Moral Aspects of City Life*.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 B. C.) Roman statesman; Praetor of Rome; Consul.
- Cleveland, Grover (1837-1908). American statesman; Governor of New York; President, 1885-89 and 1893-97.
- Coke, Sir Edward (1552-1634). English jurist; Attorney General; Chief Justice King's Bench; Speaker, House of Commons.
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor (1772-1834). English poet.
- Colton, Charles Caleb (1780-1832). English clergyman and writer.
- Cooke, Edmund Vance (1806-1902). American poet and lecturer.
- Cooley, Thomas McIntyre (1824-98). Chief Justice Supreme Court of Michigan; author, *Constitutional Limitations*.
- Coolidge, Calvin (1872-1933). American statesman; Governor of Massachusetts; Vice President; President, 1923-29.
- Cooper, Thomas (1759-1840). American philosopher and politician, born in England.
- Cowper, William (1731-1800). English poet.
- Curran, John Philpot (1750-1817). Irish orator and judge.

- Dana, Charles Anderson (1819-97). American editor, *New York Sun* and *American Cyclopedia*.
- Demosthenes (384-322 B. C.) Athenian patriot, called the greatest of Greek orators.
- Dewey, Thomas Edmund (1902-). American lawyer; District Attorney of New York County; Republican candidate for Governor, 1938.
- Dickens, Charles (1812-70). English novelist, *Oliver Twist* and *Christmas Carol*.
- Disraeli, Benjamin (1804-81). English statesman; member of Parliament; Chancellor of the Exchequer; Prime Minister.
- Drake, Joseph Rodman (1795-1820). American poet, *The American Flag*.
- Eca, d', Raoul (1896-). Naturalized American; author, *Outline of Latin-American History*; born in Portugal and reared in Brazil.
- Einstein, Albert (1879-). Naturalized American; physicist, famous for his theory of relativity; born in Germany.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo (1803-82). American philosopher and essayist; editor, *The Dial*; author, *The Conduct of Life*.
- Erskine, Thomas, Lord (1750-1823). British jurist; defender of Thomas Paine; Lord Chancellor; member of Parliament.
- Farley, James A. (1888-). American statesman; Chairman of Democratic National Committee; Postmaster General.
- Ferguson, Charles (1863-). American clergyman; author, *The Religion of Democracy*.
- Field, Stephen J. (1816-99). Chief Justice California Supreme Court; Justice United States Supreme Court.
- Fields, James Thomas (1816-81). American author; editor, *Atlantic Monthly*.
- Franklin, Benjamin (1706-90). American statesman; founder of University of Pennsylvania; Ambassador to France; inventor; author, *Poor Richard's Almanac*.
- Frederick II, The Great (1712-86). King of Prussia.
- Freneau, Philip (1752-1832). American editor, *National Gazette*.
- Fuller, Alvan Tufts (1878-). American statesman; Governor of Massachusetts; member of Congress.
- Garfield, James Abram (1831-81). American statesman; member of Congress; elected President, 1880, assassinated, 1881.
- George, Henry (1839-97). American economist.
- Gibson, Ernest W., Jr. (1901-). American lawyer; Senator from Vermont; Chairman of Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.
- Giles, Henry (1809-82). American author, *Christian Thought on Life*; born in Ireland.
- Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-98). British statesman; member of Parliament; Chancellor of the Exchequer; Prime Minister.
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749-1832). German author, *Faust*; Privy Councilor; President of Ducal Chamber.

- Grant, Ulysses Simpson (1822-85). American soldier and statesman; Commander of the Union Army; Secretary of War; President, 1869-77.
- Gratian, Henry (1100-77). Italian Benedictine monk; author, *Decretum Gratiani*.
- Hall, Robert (1764-1831). English author, *Apology for the Freedom of the Press*.
- Hamilton, Andrew (1678-1741). American lawyer, defender of John Peter Zenger in famous free press case.
- Hayes, Rutherford Birchard (1822-93). American statesman; Governor of Ohio; President, 1877-81.
- Helvetius, Claude Adrien (1715-71). French philosopher; author, *De L'esprit*, which Parliament ordered burned in 1759.
- Henry, Patrick (1736-99). American statesman; Governor of Virginia.
- Herbert, Auberon Edward (1838-1906). English author; member of Parliament.
- Holbach, Paul Heinrich von (1723-89). French writer, born in Germany.
- Holyoake, George Jacob (1817-1906). English reformer; author, *History of Cooperation in England*.
- Hoover, Herbert Clark (1874-). American statesman; United States Food Administrator; Secretary of Commerce; President, 1929-33.
- Hughes, Charles Evans (1802-). Governor of New York; Republican candidate for President 1916; Secretary of State; Chief Justice United States Supreme Court.
- Hull, Cordell (1871-). American statesman; Senator from Tennessee; Secretary of State.
- Huxley, Thomas Henry (1825-95). English biologist and writer; president of Royal Society.
- Ickes, Harold (1874-). Secretary, U. S. Department of the Interior.
- Jefferson, Thomas (1743-1826). American statesman; Governor of Virginia; Secretary of State; Vice President; President 1801-09; author, *Declaration of Independence*.
- Johnson, Charles S. (1893-). American Negro educator; director of Institute of Race Relations; author, *The Negro in American Civilization*.
- Johnson, James Weldon (1871-). American Negro author, *Book of American Negro Poetry*; Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
- Jones, Samuel Milton (1846-1904). American reformer; Mayor of Toledo.
- Junius. Pen name of English political writer whose letters appeared in England, 1769-72; advocate of civil liberty.
- Kett, Robert (?-1549). English martyr; leader in rebellion against protectorate of Somerset; hanged, 1549.
- Kindler, Hans (1893-). Musician, founder and conductor of National Symphony Orchestra; born in Holland.

- Kipling, Rudyard (1865-1936). English author, *The Light That Failed*, *Soldiers Three*, and *Barrack Room Ballads*.
- Kossuth, Louis (1802-04). Hungarian patriot; imprisoned by Austrians for advocating independence; leader of independent Hungary.
- Landon, Alfred M. (1887-). American statesman; Governor of Kansas; Republican candidate for President, 1936.
- Lang, Anton (1905-). Play producer, born in Germany.
- Latimer, Hugh (1488?-1555). English martyr; Bishop of Worcester; burned at stake, 1555.
- Lawrence, David (1888-). American editor, *U. S. News*.
- Lehman, Herbert H. (1878-). American statesman; Governor of New York.
- Lincoln, Abraham (1809-65). American statesman; author, *Emancipation Proclamation*; Congressman; President, 1861-65; assassinated, 1865.
- Lippmann, Walter (1889-). American columnist; author, *The Method of Freedom*.
- Lloyd, John William (1876-). American educator and horticulturist.
- Locke, John (1632-1704). English author, *Concerning Toleration* and *Concerning Humane Understanding*.
- Lowell, James Russell (1819). American author, *Democracy*; editor, *Atlantic Monthly*.
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington (1800-59). English historian, *History of England*; member of Parliament; Secretary of War.
- Mackay, Charles (1814-89). English poet and journalist.
- McKinley, William (1843-1901). American statesman; Governor of Ohio; President, 1897-1901; assassinated, 1901.
- McNutt, Paul Vories (1891-). American statesman; Governor of Indiana; U. S. High Commissioner to the Philippines; Federal Security Administrator.
- Madison, James (1751-1836). American statesman; Congressman; Secretary of State; President, 1809-1817.
- Mann, Thomas (1875-). Novelist, *Joseph and His Brethren*; winner, Nobel Prize for Literature, 1929; born in Germany.
- Maris, Albert Branson (1803-). American jurist and writer.
- Markham, Edwin (1852-1940). American poet, *The Man With the Hoe*.
- Marshall, John (1755-1835). Secretary of State; Chief Justice United States Supreme Court.
- Mason, George (1725-92). American statesman; member of Constitutional Convention.
- Mattathias (? -106 B. C.). Jewish priest and reformer; leader in revolt against religious oppression.
- Mill, John Stuart (1800-73). English philosophical writer and economist.
- Milton, John (1608-74). English poet, *Paradise Lost*.

- Montgomery, James (1776-1854). Scottish poet and lecturer.
- Moore, Thomas (1779-1852). Irish poet.
- Morris, George Pope (1802-64). American poet, *Woodman, Spare That Tree*.
- Müller, Max (1823-1900). English philologist and orientalist, born in Germany.
- Newman, Louis Israel (1893-). Jewish rabbi; Chairman Palestine Mandate Defense League.
- O'Connell, Daniel (1775-1847). Irish lawyer; member of Parliament.
- Paine, Thomas (1737-1809). American author, *Common Sense, Rights of Man, and Age of Reason*.
- Parker, Theodore (1810-60). American clergyman and author.
- Pasternak, Joseph (1901-). Motion picture producer, born in Hungary.
- Pericles (495-429 B. C.). Athenian statesman; leader of democratic party; Minister of Athens.
- Petrie, Margaret S. (-). American author, *History of Liberty*, 1874.
- Phillips, Wendell (1811-84). American reformer; president Anti-Slavery Society.
- Pickens, William (1881-). American Negro educator; secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; author, *Abraham Lincoln, Man and Statesman*.
- Pitt, William (1708-78). English statesman; member of Parliament; Secretary of State; Prime Minister.
- Plato (427-347 B. C.). Greek philosopher; founder of Academy.
- Poole, John P. (1786-1879). English playwright.
- Proskauer, Joseph H. (1877-). American jurist; Justice Supreme Court of New York.
- Quincy, Josiah (1744-75). American statesman; co-defender, with John Adams, of British soldiers in *Boston Massacre* case; special representative to England.
- Robertson, John Mackinnon (1856-1933). English author, *History of Free Thought*; Privy Councilor.
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano (1882-). American statesman; Governor of New York; elected President 1932, 1936, and 1940.
- Roosevelt, Theodore (1858-1919). American statesman; Governor of New York; Vice President; President, 1901-09.
- Scherger, George Lawrence (1874-). American clergyman; author, *The Evolution of Modern Liberty*.
- Schiller, Johann von (1759-1805). German poet and dramatist.
- Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (4 B. C.-65 A. D.). Roman philosopher; member of Roman Senate.
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe (1792-1822). English poet, *The Spirit of Solitude*.
- Sheridan, Richard Brinsley (1751-1816). British dramatist; member of Parliament; Secretary of the Treasury.

- Sidney, Algernon (1622-83). English statesman; author, *Discourse Concerning Government*.
- Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, Count (1748-1836). French statesman; Ambassador to Germany.
- Sikorsky, Igor I. (1889-). Naturalized American aircraft designer, born in Russia.
- Smith, Alfred Emanuel (1873-). American statesman; Governor of New York; Democratic candidate for President 1928; editor, *New Outlook*.
- Socrates (469-399 B. C.). Greek philosopher; president of the Prytanes; condemned for impiety and sentenced to death, 399 B. C.
- Spencer, Herbert (1820-1903). English philosopher and writer.
- Stone, Melville Elijah (1848-1929). American journalist; founder, *Chicago Daily News*; general manager of the Associated Press.
- Sumner, Charles (1811-74). American statesman; Senator from Massachusetts.
- Swift, Jonathan (1667-1745). Irish author, *Gulliver's Travels*.
- Taft, Robert Alphonso (1880-). American statesman; Senator from Ohio.
- Taylor, Bayard (1825-78). American author; Ambassador to Germany.
- Theodosius I, The Great (346-395). Roman emperor; foe of paganism; imposed Christianity.
- Thompson, Floyd Eugene (1887-). Chief Justice Supreme Court of Illinois.
- Thoreau, Henry David (1817-62). American writer and philosopher.
- Traubel, Horace (1858-1919). American writer and editor.
- Vandenburg, Arthur Hendrick (1884-). American statesman; Senator from Michigan; author, *If Hamilton Were Here Today*.
- Volney, Constantin Francois (1757-1820). French philosopher; author, *Meditations on Revolutions*.
- Voltaire, Francois (1694-1778). French poet and reformer.
- Wallace, Henry Agard (1888-). American statesman; Secretary, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Vice President; author, *New Frontiers*.
- Washington, Booker Taliaferro (1856-1915). American Negro author, *Up From Slavery*; president Tuskegee Institute.
- Washington, George (1732-99). American soldier and statesman; Commander in Chief of the Continental forces; President of the Constitutional Convention; President, 1789-97.
- Webster, Daniel (1782-1852). American statesman; Congressman; Secretary of State; Senator from Massachusetts.
- Wentworth, Peter (1590-96). English statesman; member of Parliament; sent to Tower of London for speeches on Parliamentary privileges; died in prison.
- Wesley, Charles Harris (1891-). American Negro educator; author, *The Collapse of the Confederacy*.
- Wheeler, Burton Kendall (1882-). American statesman; Senator from Montana; Progressive candidate for Vice President, 1924.

White, William Allen (1868-). American journalist; editor, *Emporia Gazette*. The long quotation is from his 1922 Pulitzer Prize editorial.

Whitman, Walt (1819-92). American poet, *Leaves of Grass*.

Wilkes, John (1727-97). English statesman; member of Parliament; denied seat on several occasions for persisting in his fight for a free press; Lord Mayor of London.

Willkie, Wendell L. (1892-). American lawyer; president of Commonwealth and Southern Corporation; Republican candidate for President, 1940.

Wilson, Woodrow (1856-1924). American statesman; president of Princeton University; Governor of New Jersey; President, 1913-21; awarded Nobel Peace Prize, 1920.

Wordsworth, William (1770-1850). English poet laureate.

Wortman, Tunis (?-1822). American orator and journalist; leader in fight for freedom of press and speech during pre-Jeffersonian era.

Books for Further Reading

The American Faith. Ernest Sutherland Bates. New York, N. Y., W. W. Norton & Co., 1940. 479 p.

Deals with religious backgrounds in America. Simply written; many specific documentary stories. Divided into four sections covering our European heritage; the American reformation; relation of religion to politics; and the story of faith romanticized.

American Government; a Consideration of the Problems of Democracy. Frank Abbott Magruder. Boston, Mass., and New York, N. Y., Allyn and Bacon, 1939. 758 p. illus., maps, diagrs.

A discussion of politics and government. A chapter on transportation, communication, and power has been added to include recent developments, 1939.

American Saga. Marjorie Barstow Greenbie. New York, N. Y., Whittlesey House McGraw Hill, 1939. 682 p.

A human interest approach through authentic stories of history. Simply written; colorful, informative, and documentary. Useful for dramatizations. Covers the Colonial and Revolutionary periods and the nineteenth century.

Apology, Crito and Phaedo of Socrates. Plato. New York, N. Y., Translation Publishing Co., Inc. 1929. 123 p.

A literal translation by Henry Cary. Contains a detailed story of the trial of Socrates; the challenge to his accusers; his rejection of compromise; and the story of his death.

Are American Teachers Free? Howard Kennedy Beale. New York, N. Y., Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938. 856 p.

An analysis of the restraints upon freedom of teaching in American schools. A detailed report by the Commission on the Social Studies.

The Battle of the Press. Theophila Carlile Campbell. London, Eng., A. & H. R. Bonner, 1899. 319 p.

The fight for a free press, as told in the story of the life of Richard Carlile, by his daughter.

A Book of Americans. Stephen and Rosemary Benet. New York, N. Y., Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1933. 114 p. illus.

Beginning with Christopher Columbus and ending with Woodrow Wilson, the authors tell the story of pioneers in America and of leaders who contributed to the growth of the United States. Contains good material for dramatizations.

Builders of the Republic. Frederic A. Ogg. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1927. 352 p. illus.

The Revolutionary and Constitutional periods; a profusely illustrated story taking us up to the War Between the States. One of the *Pageant of America Series*.

Can These Things Be? George Seldes. New York, N. Y., Brewer, Warren & Putnam, 1931. 483 p.

Dealing with terrorism in Europe; the censorship of the press under dictators.

The Capture and Execution of John Brown, a Tale of Martyrdom. Elijah Avey. Chicago, Ill., The Hyde Park Bindery, 1908. 144 p. illus., plates, ports.

A first-hand story of John Brown's crusade, imprisonment, and last hours. Elijah Avey was an eye witness.

Censorship of Speech and the Press. Lamar T. Beman. New York, N. Y., The H. W. Wilson Co., 1930. 507 p.

Selected articles on censorship of speech and press; a cross section of what leaders think should be the limitations of this freedom.

Civil Liberty. Edith M. Phelps. New York, N. Y., The H. W. Wilson Co., 1927. 194 p.

This volume contains material on the freedom of expression of opinion from the viewpoint of the arguments for and against restrictions upon it.

Constitutional Free Speech. Theodore A. Schroeder. New York, N. Y., Free Speech League, 1919. 456 p.

Constitutional free speech defined and defended. Interesting cases from the files of the Free Speech League.

Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln, 1809-1865. James G. Randall. New York, N. Y., and London, Eng., D. Appleton & So., 1920. 580 p. Illus.

Covers the war years in detail. Takes up the problems of the suspension of *habeas corpus*, the military and civil trials, and the closing of newspapers which attacked the Government.

Defender of Democracy. Emil Ludwig. New York, N. Y., Robert M. McBride & Co., 1930. 278 p.

The life of Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, with dramatic scenes in the Mid-European countries.

Democracy. Thomas Jefferson. New York, N. Y., D. Appleton-Century Co., 1930. 291 p.

A compilation of Jefferson's writings, arranged by Saul K. Padover. Reveals Jefferson as a commentator and political thinker. Quotations are arranged topically.

Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1926. William Mac- Donald. New York, N. Y., The Macmillan Co., 1937. 713 p.

Includes the charters of Virginia, Massachusetts, Maryland, Connecticut, the Carolinas, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Georgia, as well as important national documents.

The Dreyfus Case. Alfred and Pierre Dreyfus. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1937. 303 p. plates, ports.

The memoirs of Alfred Dreyfus, including letters he wrote to his wife while he was in prison. A chronological story of the case by Pierre Dreyfus, son of the prisoner.

The Early Persecutions of the Christians. Leon H. Canfield. New York, N. Y., Columbia University, 1913. 215 p.

The story of how Christianity thrived on persecution; includes episodes suitable for dramatization.

Elijah Parish Lovejoy as a Christian. Melvin Jameson. Rochester, N. Y., Scranton, Wetmore, and Co., 1910. 115 p. illus.

Early stories of Lovejoy's life, his defense of liberty, of the press, and his death at Alton, Ill., in his final fight for this freedom.

The Enemies of Books. William Blades. New York, N. Y., A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1888. 165 p. illus.

A story of the attempted suppression of freedom of the press, accenting European cases.

England's Voice of Freedom; an Anthology of Liberty. Henry W. Nevinson. London, Eng., V. Gollancz, Ltd., 1929. 304 p.

The story of the growth of liberty in England, which is a chronicle of liberty in itself. Nevinson gives due credit to continental predecessors in each case.

The English Revolution, 1688-89. George Macaulay Trevelyan. New York, N. Y., Henry Holt & Co., 1939. 281 p.

Trevelyan claims these years were not only the turning point in English history, but really the heart of the story of democracy. He studies the causes behind the revolution, as well as the forces which grew out of it.

The Epic of America. James Truslow Adams. Boston, Mass., Little, Brown & Co., 1931. 433 p.

Adams views the story of America as a moving pageant in which the characters appear on the stage, act their parts, and retire.

Epoch-Making Liberty Documents. David Wunthorpe. Tyler, Tex., D. Wunthorpe, 1936. 174 p.

Contains copies of the *Ten Commandments*, *Magna Carta*, *Petition of Right*, *Declaration of Independence*, *Articles of Confederation*, and many other documents, with introductory historical sketches giving the setting for each document.

Eternal Vigilance. American Civil Liberties Union. New York, N. Y.; American Civil Liberties Union, 1938. 96 p.

Suggestions on what we must do to guard our civil liberties.

The Evolution of Modern Liberty. George L. Scherzer. New York, N. Y., Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. 284 p.

The history and development of natural law and growth of the sovereignty of the people; the story of the American *Bill of Rights* and the French *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*.

Fair Trial. Chester Williams. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson and Co., 1941. 72 p. illus.

A story of the long struggle of mankind to escape from the law of vengeance and to establish justice under impartial judges and the trial by jury.

The Fathers of the Constitution. Max Farrand. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1921. 246 p. front.

The story of the men behind the writing, rewriting, and ratification of the Constitution. Bibliographical notes on each. One of the *Chronicles of America Series*.

The Federalist; a Commentary on the Constitution of the United States. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. Washington, D. C., National Home Library Foundation, 1938. 618 p.

A collection of essays written in support of the Constitution agreed upon September 17, 1787, by the Federal Convention. From the original text of the authors.

The First Americans, 1607-1690. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker. New York, N. Y., The Macmillan Co., 1938. 358 p. plates, ports., map, plan.

Pioneers in the early struggles to establish a haven of refuge for the persecuted.

Formation of the Union, 1750-1829. Albert Bushnell Hart. New York, N. Y., Longmans, Green & Co., 1925. 301 p. maps.

An account of the drawing together of the Colonies in a common cause, the wars with England, and final union.

Foundations of America. New York, N. Y., Sun Dial Press, 1938. 421 p.

A collection of famous documents that have determined the course of history in America. Starts with the *Mayflower Compact* and includes many Presidential proclamations of the present day.

The Framing of the Constitution of the United States. Max Farrand. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press; London, Eng., Oxford University Press, 1936. 281 p.

This book is founded upon the records of the Federal Convention, many of which were not collected until recent years. Indexed.

Free Speech and a Free Press. Giles J. Patterson. Boston, Mass., Little, Brown & Co., 1939. 261 p.

Written by a member of the American Bar, but not from a legal viewpoint. A running story of the struggle through the ages.

Free Speech and Plain Language. Albert Jay Nock. New York, N. Y., W. Morrow & Co., 1937. 343 p.

A recent book telling of the curbs that have been placed upon the right of free speech. Accents the American story.

Freedom of Inquiry and Expression. Edward Potts Cheyney. Philadelphia, Pa., American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1938. 365 p.

A detailed story of the opposition to free speech and free press, with new side lights on the characters involved.

Freedom of Speech. Zechariah Chafee, Jr. New York, N. Y., Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920. 431 p.

How to obtain freedom of speech and how to preserve it. Contains a bibliography.

Freedom of Speech. Julia E. Johnsen. New York, N. Y., The H. W. Wilson Co., 1936. 317 p.

Arguments for and against unlimited speech. Interesting insight into minds of leading historical characters who were opposed to free expression.

Freedom of the Mind in History. Henry Osborn Taylor. New York, N. Y. and London, Eng., Macmillan & Co., 1923. 297 p.

Covers cases of persecution from the earliest days through the First World War.

Giordano Bruno; His Life, Thought and Martyrdom. William Boulting. New York, N. Y., E. P. Dutton & Co., 1916. 315 p.

One of the later biographies, containing many new facts in Bruno's battle for free thought. Tries to record his thoughts in the order he declared them.

Great Moments in Freedom. Marion Florence Lansing. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1930. 326 p. illus., plates.

Pictures historic procession of famous people in search of liberty and interprets the manner in which each found the key to freedom. A book for young readers.

Haven of the Spirit. Merrill Denison. New York, N. Y., Dramatist's Play Service, 1939. 36 p.

A play depicting the struggle of Roger Williams for religious freedom. One of the *America In Action Series*.

Heritage of America. Henry Steele Commager. Boston, Mass., Little, Brown & Co., 1939. 1152 p. illus.

Sharp, concise, and detailed history of our country in the words of eyewitnesses of great events. Good source of story material on freedom and democracy.

Historic Americans. Elbridge S. Brooks. New York, N. Y. and Boston, Mass., T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1899. 384 p. illus., plates.

Sketches of the lives and characters of certain famous Americans. Written for young people.

Historical Development of the Jury System. Maximus Lesser. Rochester, N. Y., The Lawyer's Co-operative Publishing Co., 1894. 274 p.

Traces the story of how we came to have juries, from the time a man was tried by 12 neighborhood gossips to the present day.

The History and Development of the Fourth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. Nelson B. Lasson. Baltimore, Md., The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. 154 p.

Begins with the early Colonial period; shows how the writs of assistance trials stamped upon the minds of the founding fathers a need for this amendment.

A History of English Law. W. S. Holdsworth. London, Eng., Methuen & Co., Limited, 1937. 4 vols.

The story of the development of common law in the British Isles; where early customs originated; and evolution of modern justice.

A History of Freedom of Thought. John Bagnell Bury. New York, N. Y., Henry Holt & Co., 1913. 256 p.

Begins with the story of free reason in Greece and Rome and ends with the American struggle. Bibliography and index.

History of Journalism in the United States. George S. Payne. New York, N. Y., and London, Eng., D., Appleton & Co., 1920. 453 p.

Valuable because of detailed accounts of such men as Franklin and Freneau. A story of men rather than newspapers.

History of Trial by Jury. William Forsyth. New York, N. Y., Cockerill & Co., 1878. 388 p.

The author describes early forms of justice and injustice, and traces the emergence of the modern jury of peers.

Horace Mann and Religion in the Massachusetts Public Schools. Raymond B. Culver. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1929. 301 p.

A detailed account of Mann's battle to keep religion out of the public schools, and his controversy with the American Sunday School Union regarding school libraries.

How We Got Our Liberties. Lucius B. Swift. Indianapolis, Ind., The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1928. 304 p.

A history of the foundations of political and religious liberty, containing many colorful incidents. Good material for dramatizations.

In Defense of Liberty. William Wood and Ralph H. Gabriel. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1928. 370 p. illus.

Stories of America's wars for freedom after she became a united Nation. Profusely illustrated. One of the *Pageant of America Series*.

The Inquiring Mind. Zechariah Chafee. New York, N. Y., Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928. 276 p.

A collection of essays on liberty and other constitutional problems, including contemporaneous reviews of judicial decisions on free speech and industrial relations.

It is Later Than You think. Max Lerner. New York, N. Y., The Viking Press, 1939. 260 p.

Shows how battle cries of personal freedom and minority rights have been drowned out by new slogans. Inquires into what might be done to save democracy.

Jefferson and Hamilton; the Struggle for Democracy in America. Claude G. Bowers. Boston, Mass., and New York, N. Y., Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1929. 531 p. plates, ports.

Two men representing different schools of thought battled in the open, and thus democracy grew. Good insight into the characters of both.

Jefferson and His Colleagues. Allen Johnson. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1921. 343 p.

Gives a picture of the men associated with Jefferson during his Presidency. One of the *Chronicles of America Series*.

The Jeffersonian Encyclopedia. John P. Foley. New York, N. Y., and London, Eng., Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1900. 1009 p. plates, ports.

A comprehensive collection of the views of Thomas Jefferson, classified by title and subject.

John Brown's Body. Stephen Vincent Benét. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1930. 376 p. plates, illus.

A narrative poem telling of the man who led the uprising at Harpers Ferry.

John Bunyan, His Life, Times and Work. John Brown. Cambridge, Mass., Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1886. 515 p. illus., plates, ports.

A biography by a minister who for more than 20 years preached at the same church at which Bunyan presided and was official guardian of Bunyan's personal relics and memorials.

John Huss. D. S. Schaff. New York, N. Y., C. Scribner's Sons, 1915. 349 p.

A biography which judges the man in the light of what has happened during the five centuries following his death.

John Peter Zenger. Charles F. Heartman. Highland Park, N. J., H. B. Weiss, 1934. 60 p. illus.

The author presents a character sketch of this liberal journalist and tells of his struggle for freedom of the American press. Contains a specimen page of the *New York Weekly Journal* printed by Zenger.

The Key of Libberty.² William Manning. Billerica, Mass., The Manning Association, 1922. 71 p.

Showing the reasons why free governments had always failed, and suggesting a way to make them succeed. Written in the year 1798; a remarkable document for that day.

The King Fish. Carleton Beals. Philadelphia, Pa. and London, Eng., J. B. Lippincott, 1935. 414 p.

A biography of Huey P. Long, Louisiana dictator, his curtailment of civil liberties, and his battle with the press.

KKK—Invisible Empire. Stanley F. Horn. Boston, Mass., Houghton Mifflin Co., 1939. 422 p.

The story of the Ku Klux Klan during its most active years, 1866-71. A study of law deficiency.

Land of the Free. Herbert Agar. Boston, Mass., Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935. 305 p. illus.

How to understand our liberty; want it; fight for it; and grow conscious of its possibilities.

Legal Status of Church-State Relationship in the United States. Alvin W. Johnson. Minneapolis, Minn., University of Minnesota Press, 1934. 332 p.

Laws and court decisions affecting the teaching of religion in the public schools. Contains a study of Sunday legislation.

Lest Freedom Fall. Nathan Ayer Smith. New York, N. Y., Dodd Mead & Co., 1940. 138 p.

The author shows that the keystone of liberty is the voluntary performance of the social obligations which control the exercise of our civil rights.

Let Freedom Ring. Arthur G. Hayes. New York, N. Y., Boni and Liveright, 1928. 341 p.

Describes cases concerning freedom of education, speech, assemblage, press, residence, stage, and opinion with which the writer, a lawyer, happened to be connected during 1922-27.

* Original spelling.

Let Freedom Ring! Harold G. and Dorothy Calhoun. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937. 379 p. illus.

A series of 13 radio scripts dramatizing important episodes in the growth of freedom. Contains production notes and lesson aids.

Liberty and the News. Walter Lippmann. New York, N. Y., Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920. 104 p.

What modern liberty means, how it should be interpreted in the newspapers, and how it often suffers at the hands of special privilege.

Liberty Documents. Mabel Hill. New York, N. Y., and London, Eng., Longmans, Green & Co., 1907. 458 p.

A contemporary exposition, with critical comments on documents which had a bearing on the evolution of liberty.

Liberty of the Press. Chester S. Williams. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson and Co., 1940. 72 p. illus.

A story of the struggle to win freedom to write, print, and publish without undue censorship of government.

The Life and Letters of John Hay. William Roscoe Thayer. Boston, Mass., Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929. 2 vols.

These letters of Lincoln's secretary give a new insight into the constitutional problems faced by the President during the war years, especially when dealing with a recalcitrant press.

Life of George Mason, 1725-1792. Kate M. Rowland. New York, N. Y. and London, Eng., G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892. 2 vols.

A biography of the man who most influenced Jefferson in writing the *Declaration of Independence*. Published a century after his death.

The Life of James Madison. Gaillard Hunt. New York, N. Y., Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902. 402 p.

An analysis of the man as statesman and President.

Life of John Wilkes. Horace Bleackley. New York, N. Y., John Lane Co., 1917. 464 p.

One of the leading exponents of free speech and free press in England is analyzed for his effect upon following generations.

Main Currents in American Thought, 1620-1920. Vernon L. Parrington. New York, N. Y., Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927. 3 vols.

One of the best historical sources of human interest material for writers and speakers. Interestingly written.

The Making of the Constitution. Charles Warren. Boston, Mass., Little, Brown & Co., 1937. 832 p.

Conditions and sentiments which influenced the framers of the Constitution, political history behind each clause of the document, and many letters to and from the delegates.

The March of Democracy, a History of the United States. James Truslow Adams. New York, N. Y., Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. 5 vols.

Tracing the growth of democracy on this continent, with references to our European heritage. Detailed account of each forward step and the forces behind it.

Milton. Hilaire Belloc. Philadelphia, Pa., and London, Eng., J. B. Lippincott Co., 1935. 812 p.

A recent book on Milton, with much hitherto unpublished material on his struggle for the freedoms.

Modern Jury Trials and Advocates. Judge Joseph W. Donovan. New York, N. Y., G. A. Jennings Co., Inc., 1929. 740 p.

Contains synopses of cases which have contributed to democracy, with sketches and speeches of leading American advocates of freedom.

Mr. Pitt and America's Birthright. J. C. Long. New York, N. Y., Frederick A. Stokes & Co., 1940. 576 p.

The man who, with Burke, defended the American Colonies in England. His biographer believes him to be one of the greatest defenders of the democratic ideal of all time.

New Adventures in Democracy. Ordway Tead. New York, N. Y., Whittlesey House, 1939. 229 p.

Practical applications of the democratic idea, and how to focus our attention upon making organized relations to social groups democratic.

A New Birth of Freedom. Nicholas Roosevelt. New York, N. Y., Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938. 274 p.

A new interpretation of America's future in the light of America's past, setting forth a case for federalism, and answering the challenge of dictators.

The Newspaper and Authority. Lucy M. Salmon. New York, N. Y., Oxford University Press, 1923. 505 p. plates.

The story of the power newspapers had until radio became a factor. Opinions of famous libertarians on freedom of the press.

On Liberty; Representative Government; the Subjection of Women. John Stuart Mill. London, Eng., Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1933. 548 p.

Three of the best-known essays by the great English economist.

Our Ancient Liberties. Leon Whipple. New York, N. Y., The H. W. Wilson Co., 1927. 153 p.

An account of the history of civil liberties in the United States, subdivided according to basic classifications.

Popular Progress in England. James Routledge. London, Eng., Macmillan and Co., 1876. 631 p.

Chapters in the history of popular progress, considered chiefly in relation to freedom of the press and trial by jury, 1820-1820, with an application to later years.

The Press and a Changing Civilization. Arthur John Cummings. London, Eng., John Lane, 1936. 139 p.

Studies the problems of liberty of the press today; newspaper propaganda; the role played by radio; and censorship of press and radio.

The Racial Myth. Paul Radin. New York, N. Y., Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1934. 141 p.

The idea of superior races is not compatible with liberty, or the survival of civilization, says the author, and he cites cases in which this belief has ruined civilizations.

Readings From Lincoln. Alfred A. Wright. New York, N. Y., Henry Holt & Co., 1929. 287 p. illus.

Lincoln's best speeches and papers edited, with a brief version of the Lincoln story.

The Record of America. James Truslow Adams and Charles Garrett Vannest. New York, N. Y., and Chicago, Ill., Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935. 941 p. illus., maps, diagrs., and color plates.

A history written merely as a record, with little comment on the causes or effects of the incidents chronicled.

Religious Liberty. Chester S. Williams. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson and Co., 1941. 72 p. illus.

The story of the struggle to win freedom of conscience, to end religious persecution, and to separate church and state.

Right of Free Speech. Chester S. Williams. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson and Co., 1940. 84 p. illus.

Highlights in the battle to win the rights of free speech and assembly, and to maintain those rights.

The Rights We Defend. Chester S. Williams. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson and Co., 1940. 72 p. illus.

The story of the struggle of mankind for governmental policies and documents guaranteeing personal liberty.

The Rise of Religious Liberty in America. Sanford H. Cobb. New York, N. Y., The Macmillan Co., 1902. 541 p.

Beginning with a description of Old World ideas which were brought to America, this book shows the effect of these on the Colonies and the subsequent changes which came about. The work is political rather than religious.

Roger Williams, New England Firebrand. James E. Ernst. New York, N. Y., The Macmillan Co., 1932. 538 p.

The story of the man who founded a colony for religious freedom and the persecutions he suffered in America before he founded that colony.

Roots of American Civilization. Curtis P. Nettels. New York, N. Y., F. S. Crofts and Co., 1938. 748 p. illus.

A history of American Colonial life, with an index and a bibliography.

Samuel Adams, Promoter of the American Revolution; a Study in Psychology and Politics. Ralph Volney Harlow. New York, N. Y., H Holt & Co., 1932. 363 p.

The complex causes behind the Revolutionary War; England's trade relations vex the Colonies. Adams leads them in showing resentment, which flares into war.

Samuel Gorton: A Forgotten Founder of Our Liberties. Lewis G. Janes. Providence, R. I., Preston & Rounds, 1896. 141 p.

An account of the life of Samuel Gorton, the first settler of Warwick, R. I. The author believes Gorton has not been given his rightful place in American history.

Seed of Liberty: The Story of the American Colonies. E. Keble Chatterton. Indianapolis, Ind., The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1929. 356 p. illus.

The emergence and development of the American Colonies, the seeds of discontent, and the final freedom.

Select Documents of English Constitutional History. George Burton Adams and H. Morse Stephens. New York, N. Y., The Macmillan Co.; London, Eng., Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1918. 555 p.

A collection of the main documents and papers that have contributed to the growth of constitutional democracy in England.

Ships for Every Sailing. Stanley Young. New York, N. Y., Dramatist's Play Service, 1939. 36 p.

A play depicting the signing of the *Mayflower Compact*, first democratic document of America. One of the *America In Action Series*.

Sketches of the Progress of Freedom. Frederick May Holland. Boston, Mass., Boston Investigation Co., 1900. 75 p.

Begins with an account of movements for freedom during the fifteenth century and carries the story to the beginning of the twentieth.

A Source Book in American History to 1787. Willis Mason West. Norwood, Mass., J. S. Cushing Co., 1913. 586 p.

The imperfect nature of democracy in the Colonies; the evolution of political institutions; the breakdown of the Confederation; and the making of the Constitution.

Sources of the Constitution of the United States Considered in Relation to Colonial and English History. Charles Ellis Stevens. New York, N. Y., and London, Eng., Macmillan & Co., 1927. 313 p.

The documents and experiences the writers of the Constitution drew upon for guidance.

The Story of Civil Liberty in the United States. Leon Whipple. New York, N. Y., Vanguard Press, 1927. 329 p.

Deals with the struggle for civil liberty from the time of the early abolitionists to post-World War times.

The Story of Cooperstown. Ralph Birdsall. Cooperstown, N. Y., The Arthur H. Crist Co., 1917. 425 p. illus.

The story of one of the most influential towns in the history of America, since it was here that Judge Cooper, Jedediah Peck, and other leaders lived and worked.

The Story of Liberty. James Baldwin. New York, N. Y., American Book Co., 1919. 240 p. illus.

An account of how we won our liberties, with stories of the leading characters involved.

The Story of My Life. Clarence Darrow. New York, N. Y., and London, Eng., Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932. 405 p. ports., illus. from photographs.

The great liberal lawyer tells of his trials in defense of academic freedom, persecuted races, religious tolerance, and freedom of speech and press.

The Story of the Constitution. Sol Bloom. Washington, D. C., Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission, 1937. 192 p. illus.

Special book on the constitutional history of the United States, published on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Convention.

Story of the Declaration of Independence. Mabel Mason Carlton and Henry Fisk Carlton. New York, N. Y., Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926. 113 p. illus.

How the *Declaration of Independence* was written and given to the world; short stories about the men behind it. For young readers.

The Story of the Woman's Party. Inez Haynes Irwin. New York, N. Y., Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1921. 486 p. illus. from photographs.

Written in the first flush of victory after the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution was passed. The leading characters behind the battle for the ballot.

The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies in America. Albert E. McKinley. Boston, Mass., Ginn & Co., 1905. 518 p.

A brief outline of the franchise or lack of it possessed by the people who came to the Colonies, and a detailed chapter on the suffrage requirements of each colony.

This Constitution of Ours. Florence E. Allen. New York, N. Y., G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940. 198 p.

Revives the Jeffersonian doctrine that our national charter is an instrument of freedom. Written by a leading American woman jurist.

Thomas Jefferson and Education in a Republic. Charles Flinn Arrowood. New York, N. Y. and London, Eng., McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1930. 184 p.

Tells of Jefferson's theory of education and of his efforts to make education available to the common man.

Tolerance. Hendrick William Van Loon. New York, N. Y., Boni & Liveright, 1925. 399 p.

The author covers all types of struggles for freedom from the tyranny of ignorance in the pre-Greek era to the years following the First World War.

Tom Paine—Friend of Mankind. Hesketh Pearson. New York, N. Y., Harper and Brothers, 1937. 293 p. Illus.

A recent biography of Paine, stressing points which prove his faith and belief in the ultimate good of the great masses.

Tragedy of Lynching. Arthur F. Raper. Chapel Hill, N. C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1933. 409 p.

A report presented by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, showing that lack of a fair trial not only deprives a citizen of his rights but may condemn innocent persons.

The Tree of Liberty. Elizabeth Page. New York, N. Y. and Toronto, Canada, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1939. 985 p.

A novelized form of the story of America's fight for freedom, on which a motion picture entitled *The Howards of Virginia* was based.

Trial by Prejudice. Arthur G. Hayes. New York, N. Y., Covici-Friede, 1933. 369 p. plates, ports.

A great trial lawyer tells of the cases in which the newspapers and public opinion convicted men before they came to trial.

The Tryal of William Penn and William Mead. William Penn. Boston, Mass., Marshall Jones Co., 1919. 37 p.

A reprint of the story of Penn's trial in England. A jury refuses to bring in a verdict of guilty when instructed to do so, and the case goes down in history as one of the great forward steps in the story of fair trial.

We'd Never Be Happy Otherwise. E. P. Conkle. New York, N. Y., Dramatist's Play Service, 1939. 36 p.

A play depicting the story of Elijah Lovejoy and his fight for freedom of the press, which ended in his death. One of the *America In Action Series*.

The Wellsprings of Liberty. Edouard Herriot. New York, N. Y., Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1939. 279 p.

Written for the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the French Republic; Herriot tells of the intellectual debt France owes America and Great Britain.

What's Democracy to You? Joseph Gollomb. New York, N. Y., The Macmillan Co., 1940. 118 p.

Scrutinizes democracy from the viewpoint of a layman; asks him what use he makes of it; and if this is consistent with what he expects of democracy in the future.

William Lloyd Garrison. By His Children. New York, N. Y., The Century Co., 1889. 4 vols. illus.

A detailed account of his life and work, including a history of the abolition movement and its effect on politics; and the beginnings of the woman suffrage movement.

The Writings of Thomas Jefferson. Andrew A. Lipscomb, Editor. Washington, D. C., The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1903-04. 20 vols. plates, maps.

Contains his autobiography, notes on Virginia, official papers, messages, addresses, private letters, and manuscripts which were deposited in the Department of State.

You Can't Print That! George Seldes. New York, N. Y., Payson & Clarke, Ltd., 1929. 465 p.

The truth behind the news, 1918-28. An attempt to illustrate the foreign situation by incident and adventure; reasons behind the failure of the American press to present the whole truth about Europe in the 10 years following the World War.



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